

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Step up solidarity with coal miners!

Strike not settled until ranks vote

By Andy Rose

The coal miners' strike is not over. It will not be over until the ranks of the United Mine Workers have had a chance to read, discuss, and vote on a contract offer.

Until that time, the need for solidarity with the miners is greater than ever.

As the *Militant* goes to press, the fate of a tentative agreement announced February 6 by UMWA President Arnold Miller is still uncertain. The union's thirty-nine-member bargaining council met February 7 and refused to vote

• A one-time bonus of \$200 in the first poststrike paycheck.

• Loss of the cost-of-living clause.

• Right of the coal companies to institute

Sunday work and incentive pay.

• A "stability" agreement to ban wildcat strikes, with twenty-dollar-a-day fines and thirty-day suspensions for miners who honor an unauthorized picket line and automatic firing of strike leaders or "fomentors."

• Transfer of medical and pension benefits to private insurers, with the coal companies paying the premiums. Miners would have to pay the first \$325 a year of medical expenses.

These terms clearly fall short of the miners' demands for full restoration of benefit cutbacks and for the right to strike to enforce safe working conditions. The coal profiteers are hoping that the "sweetener" of a \$200 bonus—after more than two months with no strike benefits—will induce miners to accept a poor settlement that weakens their union power.

The right of members to ratify the contract was one of the biggest gains won by miners through the victory of the Miners for Democracy movement in 1972. After the bargaining council accepts a contract, it is supposed to be printed and distributed to UMWA district meetings and then to the union locals. Each local meets and discusses the contract. Then—no less than forty-eight hours later—the local meets again for a vote.

This rank-and-file ratification procedure

strengthens the union. It stands as a formidable obstacle to the coal operators' desires to impose a settlement that does not meet the miners' needs. As Miller himself said recently, "I told the operators we don't bargain like we used to. Now the membership tells us what to demand and what we can accept. It's up to them."

And it's up to the rest of the labor movement to make sure the miners have the chance to consider any proposal without fear of threats or intimidation by the coal operators and the government.

Already the coal companies and utilities have been calling for stronger government intervention against the strikers. Police and state troopers have assaulted UMWA pickets. Now the big-business press is speculating that if the miners turn down a "reasonable" contract, Carter will issue a Taft-Hartley back-to-work injunction.

When the UMWA ranks are offered a contract, they should not have to vote with a gun to their heads. The best way to disarm the coal bosses is to continue and step up the broadest possible support activities for the national coal strike and for the Stearns, Kentucky, miners who are on strike for union recognition.

The latest developments should prompt an outpouring of resolutions, meetings, rallies, and financial contributions for the heroic UMWA strikers.

Solidarity until victory!

How to win the ERA

Will NOW's boycott strategy succeed?

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**UFW ends
boycotts of
lettuce, wine,
and grapes**

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Elections in France

Revolutionary socialist candidates campaign for a workers government

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Several thousand at January 10 election rally in Paris

'National defense' against Vietnam

Ten years after the Tet offensive, and almost three years after the collapse of the corrupt Saigon regime, the U.S. government is still trying to do whatever it can to damage the small country that successfully defied it.

On January 31 two residents of the Washington, D.C., area, Ronald Humphrey and Truong Dinh Hung, were accused by a federal grand jury of spying for Vietnam. According to a report in the *New York Times*, the two were accused of giving Hanoi "numerous analyses of the Asian scene from American diplomats abroad. . . ." All documents involved, according to the *Times*, "were classified 'secret' or 'confidential,' terms that are not used for particularly sensitive material."

Nevertheless, the indictment claimed that the communications were related "to the national defense of the United States," and the two alleged spies—both of whom pleaded not guilty—were held on the outrageously high bail of \$250,000. This was later reduced to a still-exorbitant \$150,000.

The Carter administration followed up the indictment by ordering the expulsion of Dinh Ba Thi, Vietnam's chief delegate to the United Nations. Thi, who is mentioned only once in the indictment in connection with a visit by Truong to the Vietnamese mission, said that his only contacts with Truong had been as a result of the latter's activity in the movement against the Vietnam War. He challenged the Carter administration to produce proof of any illegality on his part.

Vietnam's delegation to the United Nations rejected the espionage charges as a "blatant fabrication, gross slander and offense" that was an example of the Carter administration's "continued hostility" toward Vietnam.

It is obvious that the decision to expel the Vietnamese chief delegate—an action unprecedented in the history of the UN—was a calculated political decision. Washington hopes to tarnish Hanoi's image, and at the same time take another step in erasing the popular memory of its bloody record in Indochina.

The war against Vietnam was one of the great crimes of the twentieth century. Millions

were slaughtered in that bloodbath, which was supported by "Mr. Human Rights" Carter down to the bitter end. Carter's attempts to whip up sentiment against the victims of Washington's atrocities should be met with the demand for immediate diplomatic recognition of Vietnam and payment of reparations to undo some of the destruction caused by the U.S. war machine.

that "victims of past discrimination" should get "special consideration" and "a better break in the future."

A good opportunity to tap this potential and counter the rulers' campaign of lies is provided by the February and April educational activities opposing the *Bakke* ruling called by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision. We urge our readers to support these activities.

Reverse bias?

A recent opinion poll conducted by the *New York Daily News* shows that the capitalist government and press have sown widespread confusion in their campaign to sell the fake concept of "reverse discrimination."

When asked whether they "approve or disapprove of businesses' having minority hiring quotas for jobs," 30 percent approved, while 60 percent disapproved.

Asked if they thought business "should have hiring quotas for women," 35 percent said "yes," but 60 percent said "no."

When asked if "nonminority groups and men suffer from 'reverse discrimination' because hiring quotas keep them from getting jobs," 54 percent responded, "yes," while 31 percent said, "no."

This propaganda blitz to convince the American people that measures to combat race and sex discrimination constitute "racism in reverse" is at the heart of the ruling-class drive to dismantle affirmative-action programs.

The rulers hope that by winning acceptance of this racist and sexist notion, they can divert attention from *their own* inability to provide jobs and education for all. Instead, they place the blame on those who suffer most from unemployment and education cutbacks—the oppressed minorities and women.

The disunity spread by these false ideas also impedes a common fight by *all* students and *all* working people to defend their rights and living standards.

But a strong potential exists for supporters of affirmative action to turn the tide. Another recent poll for example, this one by the *New York Times*, showed that although a majority of those surveyed opposed quotas, there was nonetheless overwhelming support for the idea

Talking socialism

This month Socialist Workers Party members are visiting many of the new readers who subscribed to the *Militant* last fall, asking them to renew their subscriptions.

But this is more than a renewal drive.

It's a chance to "talk socialism," as socialists used to put it in the time of Eugene V. Debs.

"Talking socialism" today means that the socialists will be—

- Talking to new readers about what is happening in the world and what can be done about it, what subscribers think;

- Inviting people to classes where they can discuss *Militant* articles and the SWP's campaign platform, the "Bill of Rights for Working People";

- Encouraging readers to take a closer look at the "What's Going On" column run in the paper each week and to attend the forums listed there;

- Urging readers to actively support the striking coal miners, join the spring protests to overturn the *Bakke* decision, help win the Equal Rights Amendment, defend Héctor Marroquín and all undocumented workers, become part of the social movements the *Militant* champions;

- And, of course, asking people to renew their subscriptions. The *Militant*, after all, is the way the SWP gets to "talk socialism" with people week after week.

If you like the *Militant* and want to help us make our campaign to "talk socialism" with new subscribers a success, contact the SWP branch nearest you listed on page 27.

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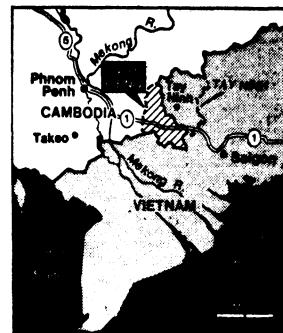


Filipina nurses victory

Citing 'pervasive public doubt' about their case, federal prosecutors have dropped trumped-up poisoning charges against Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciiso. **Page 7.**

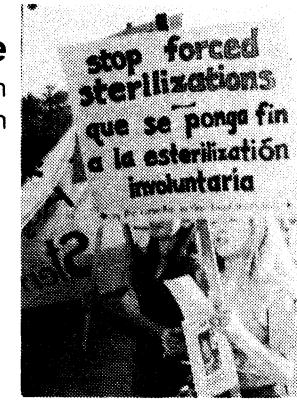
Women testify on sterilization abuse

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What are the consequences for the world revolution of the Vietnam-Cambodia military clashes? **Page 22.**



The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, David Frankel, John Hawkins, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, Jose G. Pérez, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Peter Seidman, Diane Wang, Arnold Weissberg

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Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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'We'll stay out until our demands are met'

Coal miners march in Pittsburgh

By Nancy Cole

PITTSBURGH—Despite news of an impending contract settlement, more than 500 striking coal miners and their supporters here marched through the downtown area February 6.

In answer to the news media campaign that has blamed strikers for energy shortages, unemployment, and violence, the demonstrators focused attention on those really responsible for the long strike: U.S. Steel, Consolidation Coal Company, and Duquesne Light Company.

Protesters assembled and rallied in 13-degree weather outside the towering U.S. Steel building. Just about every demonstrator—most of them miners—carried a sign or banner:

"Support the UMWA"; "Equalize Pensions"; "Coal will be mined safely or not at all"; "Right to strike over safety."

Ashton Allen—from the event's sponsoring group, the Western Pennsylvania Committee to Support the UMWA—chaired the rally. He explained that U.S. Steel is the "chief obstacle preventing a just settlement at the bargaining table."

Allen introduced a list of about twenty-five speakers. Each delivered a brief statement of support and encouragement. The majority were presidents or other representatives of western Pennsylvania UMWA locals.

Other unions delivering greetings included the Steelworkers, Service Employees, Hospital Workers, and American Federation of Government Employees, as well as the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

"It's cold out here today," began Henry Garner, president of UMWA Local 6566. "But hell will freeze over before we'll kneel to a contract like these companies are trying to give us."

A speaker from UMWA Local 1198 said, "We're going to read every word, every sentence of that contract. Because it's us, we the workers—the ones who go in that hole and dig that coal—we're the ones that are going to vote on it. And we're going to make sure it's right this time."

After the rally, protesters marched to the offices of Duquesne Light, which has used the strike to threaten price hikes and energy cutbacks.

The marchers chanted, "Long live UMW," and "Taft-Hartley, hell no, let Carter mine the coal."

In front of the utility company they thundered, "Scab coal will not roll!" over and over again.

From there demonstrators moved on to Consolidation Coal, the nation's second-largest producer, and then on to the offices of KDKA radio, where they demanded that an antiunion broadcaster come out and apologize to coal strikers.

The spirited protest followed a Support the Miners Week, which led off with a benefit/rally of 1,200 on January 29. Three strikers from Stearns, Kentucky, spent the following days speaking to UMWA locals in the area and to meetings at the Community College of Allegheny County and the University of Pittsburgh.

The mood here is anything but resignation or retreat. "We are not going to ratify anything we can't live with," a miner said at the February 6 rally. "We've been out two months. We're over the hump—the energy crunch is coming on. We'll stay out until our demands are met."



Militant/Mark Zola
With coal cars empty and stockpiles running low, Pennsylvania utilities are feeling the pinch.

Alabama troopers attack UMWA pickets

By Don Davis

JASPER, Ala.—Two hundred Alabama state troopers attacked a United Mine Workers picket line near this north Alabama town February 3, firing tear gas, beating strikers, and smashing car windows.

The picket line had been set up the previous day when word got out that several men had been brought in to open up a nonunion strip mine near the Oakman community.

When a small group of union miners tried to talk to the nonunion men they were fired upon, the UMWA miners said. They then called in 200 strikers, who set up a peaceful picket line on a state highway, one and a half miles from the mine.

Dozens of state trooper cars and three helicopters gathered during the afternoon and evening.

About midnight, the troopers drove up to the picketers, many of whom had moved into the yard of a UMWA miner's house near the intersection leading to the mine.

As a helicopter hovered above with a

giant searchlight playing on the area, the long line of trooper cars pulled up to the picket line.

A miner at the scene told the *Militant* what happened next:

"The trooper cars came on in. The first fifteen or twenty stopped. The state troopers got out with gas masks and helmets, dressed for a riot. They lined up about two or three abreast on the highway, across the highway from this private property."

"By this time most of the men who were still there had just moved more or less off the state property onto this private property, the yard of this house."

"The next thing I heard, a voice came over a loudspeaker, 'You men disperse.' About the time he said disperse, guns started firing and tear gas started coming in on us."

The miner, who asked not to be identified, said some of the troopers stayed at the intersection firing tear gas while a dozen trooper cars tore up the country road toward the mine.

One trooper ran off the road "and jumped out of his car firing his rifle," the striker reported.

When the troopers came back down the road with the seven nonunion miners in their cars, one of the troopers stopped his car, and, according to the striking miner, "he got out and laid his shotgun on top of the car and fired buckshot into this private home for no cause whatsoever."

At this time, the miner said, other troopers drove into the yard of the miner's home and smashed windows on several of the miners' cars.

"The troopers grabbed this man out of a Volkswagen. They threw him on the ground, and one stood on his neck while the other spread his legs and kicked him between the legs," the miner said.

Troopers claimed the miners threw dynamite and fired at them. One miner told the *Militant*, "I never saw the first gun on a UMWA man."

Another told the *Daily Mountain Eagle* in Jasper, "I never saw a single

gun in a miner's hand. All the shooting I saw was by troopers."

Neither reported seeing any dynamite. One said he saw a railroad flare roll under a trooper's car.

This was the second state trooper attack on Alabama miners in recent days. On January 23, troopers tear gassed and smashed windows in the cars of a caravan of UMWA miners who were trying to set up pickets at nonunion mines in northeast Alabama.

A miner who was present at the earlier incident told the *Daily Mountain Eagle*, "Governor Wallace is using Gestapo tactics. I've always backed him, but I'll never vote for him again."

The miner who witnessed the Oakman incident also noted that the Jasper area, a UMWA stronghold, had long supported Wallace in his campaigns for state and national office.

But, the miner said, "I talked to this Black man the other day. He said to me, 'I'm glad you fellows have found George Wallace out.' I said, 'It took us a while, but we did find him out.'"

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'Let us all join together to win'

Morgantown: students host meeting of 250

By Nancy Cole

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—"I'm a coal miner's daughter. My son is a coal miner. A lot of my family are coal miners. I remember my father and my grandfather talking about conditions in the mines such as these men [in Stearns, Kentucky] have. And you would think that we wouldn't still have those today. But they go on."

Shelby Leary, president of Flint Glass Workers Local 542, thus brought her personal greetings and the solidarity of her union local to a meeting in support of striking coal miners at West Virginia University February 3.

The benefit concert and rally, sponsored by the WVU Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee and endorsed by the Monongalia-Preston Labor Council, was to aid the national coal strike and the 150 Stearns miners on strike for a United Mine Workers contract.

Two hundred and fifty students, miners, and other unionists attended the event, which featured in concert Hazel Dickens, David Morris, Michael Kline, and the Trapezoid band.

Greetings or messages came from leaders of many Morgantown-area unions, including the Postal Workers, Communications Workers, Laborers, and Press Operators.

Eli Zirkovich, a former UMWA organizer and now an organizer in the J.P. Stevens drive, also spoke. He introduced Barbara Kopple, who was seated in the audience. Kopple directed and produced the film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* and is now working on a film about J.P. Stevens workers.

Dale Snyder, financial secretary of UMWA Local 1702 in Blacksville, read a statement signed by Robert Corab, president of the Monongalia-Preston Labor Council, and other union officials.

"In their fight against the coal operators," the statement concluded, "we stand with the miners and their union. A defeat for the miners would be a defeat for all of us. A victory for the miners will be a victory for all of us. Let us all join together to win this strike."

The featured speaker was Roy Keith, a striker from Stearns, who was se-

riously injured in the October 17 state police attack on strikers and their supporters there.

Keith suffered a broken eardrum, a fractured skull, and a fractured back. Because of these injuries he will probably be unable to return to work in the mines. "But I'm still a union man," he told supporters here.

"We would like to have more money, like any working man would," Keith said. "But we didn't come out [on strike] for more money. We came out for safety, and we want that contract the UMWA offers."

"We're going to stand there until the day comes when Blue Diamond signs that contract. Blue Diamond, the company that got twenty-six men killed in Kentucky at the Scotia mine. In my book they're killers."

"If I get out of here and run into somebody with my car and kill them, what do they do? They get me for manslaughter. What have they done to Blue Diamond? Nothing. It's not cost them one penny."

Basel Cowens, from UMWA Local 1058 outside Morgantown, spoke briefly. "I think we would be very much remiss if we did not thank the students for helping us with this rally," he began. "They're the ones that really did it."

In opening the program, musician David Morris said, "I understand

there's been some hassles with this meeting. I understand you had a lot of trouble with the administration."

"I'm not surprised. I've listened to a lot of WVU basketball and football games, and we all know who they're sponsored by." Morris was referring to their radio sponsorship by coal companies.

The university administration has consistently harassed the miners support committee by refusing to recognize it and by trying to interfere with literature distribution and ticket sales.

Then, the day before and the day of the benefit, letters appeared in the campus paper trying to discredit the event as socialist-dominated.

On February 2 a graduate student wrote, charging that it was not the WVU Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee that officially sponsored the rally, but rather the Socialist Party USA.

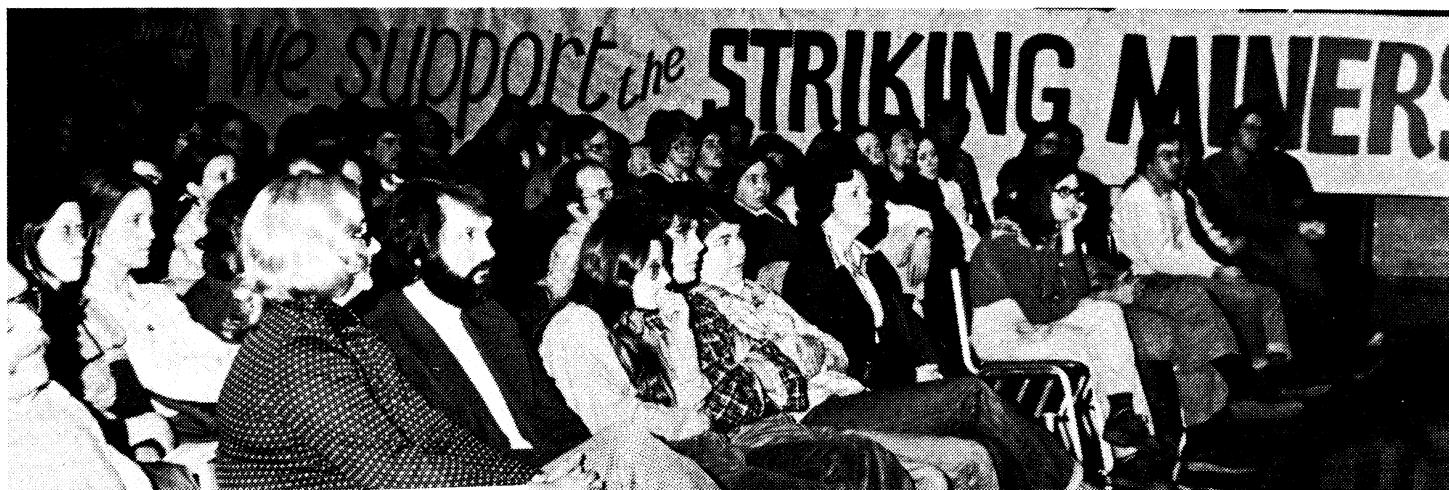
In an answer the next day, committee treasurer Brian Williams explained that the support committee is open to everyone—Democrats, Republicans, socialists, and unaffiliated independents" all worked on the event.

Williams noted that since November the committee had been active on the campus and had organized a previous meeting for the Stearns strikers December 1. Yet the administration continues to stall in recognizing the campus group.

"The Socialist Party USA (SPUSA), as one of the participants in the committee, helped the committee by reserving the room. This was an important civil liberties act by the SPUSA and has enabled the meeting to proceed."

Williams chaired the rally and told the audience, "We know there are only two sides to this fight—the miners' side and the coal operators' side. We know that the administration at this university and the board of regents are on the coal operators' side. In fact, the WVU is a coal operator and owner itself.

"We won't be intimidated by this harassment, but will keep organizing to aid the UMWA miners in their fight," Williams announced.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Morgantown strike support meeting—a big success despite red-baiting and harassment by university administration

Black miner speaks out on strike issues

By Nancy Cole

PITTSBURGH—A few days after the January 29 labor solidarity rally for striking coal miners here, I talked with David Brown, a thirty-one-year-old member of the United Mine Workers.

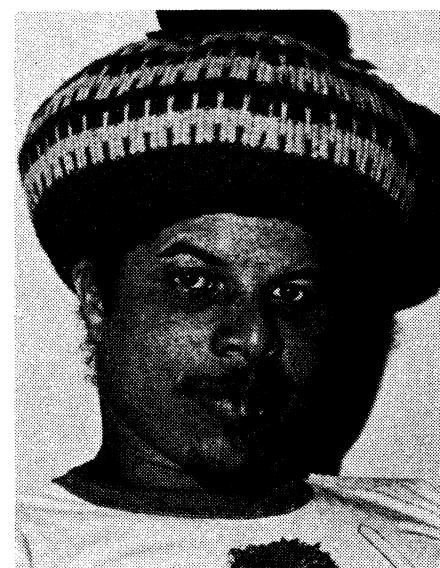
For ten years Brown has worked at Consolidation Coal's Champion Number 1 preparation plant in McDonald, Pennsylvania.

Also present was Brown's sister-in-law, a twenty-three-year-old underground miner. She decided she'd prefer not to have her name in print, so we'll call her Beth Collins. Both Brown and Collins are Black.

We talked mainly about issues in the national strike—the first for Collins, Brown's third.

At Brown's plant, he says, they try to stay away from the cumbersome grievance machinery of the contract and instead concentrate on having their union mine committee settle disputes. To a large extent it works, because they have a young, militant mine committee.

For Brown, probably the most important issue is the local right to strike. "If the company gets you to a point where you don't have the right to strike over local union grievances, you're playing right into their hands," he explains. "Anything that comes up unsafe, then the company has you where they want you."



DAVID BROWN: 'If they take away the right to strike, you have nothing.'

"If four or five guys in the mine get killed, the company doesn't care, you don't have the right to strike over it. So they just throw it [the grievance] by the side."

"You have to have some sort of fighting power to fight the company with. Striking is the only fighting power the union has, and if they take away the right to strike, you have nothing."

"I don't like to see anyone on strike—people are trying to buy

homes, trying to take care of families, and it costs a lot of money. But if the company takes away your right to strike, the company is going to do just that much more dirt and get away with it."

Collins sees the pension issue as more important than any other. "If they can take away the pensions and benefits of the retirees, they'll do it to us when our time comes."

On February 1, pensions were cut off for miners who retired before 1976. "They might just as well say, go over there and lay in a pile and die, because we're not giving you any more money," Brown says.

Both UMWA members believe that a critical need is better training programs financed by the companies.

"When I was hired," recalls Collins, "we had a week of training. We saw a lot of films. After you're brought into the mines, you're supposed to have another training program—to teach you the exits, the fire escapeways."

"I had to ask things on my own, like what to do if there's an explosion. They laughed. They said to reach over and kiss yourself goodbye."

Both Brown and Collins attended the January 29 rally, where the audience of 1,200—half coal miners—enthusiastically greeted

pledges of support from other unions.

"It made me feel good to know that steelworkers, auto workers, and all the others there were willing to say that their people are behind us," Brown says.

Collins also liked the rally, but thought "it could have been better."

"A lot of people expected [UMWA President Arnold] Miller to say more than he did. What are the demands he's putting on the table?"

"I thought they [the top officials] would have given information on what they're going for and what they're not going for," Brown interjects. "Everything you hear comes from the news media. You don't hear anything from your international union."

"I understand Miller is busy. But there's got to be somebody there who can get some information to the locals about what's going on."

Brown added: "I've known Miller since he first ran for office. My uncle was running on the ticket with Miners for Democracy at the time. You have to give Miller credit, he did do good for the union. I cannot see where in the last contract he did anything but help the miners out."

Brown adds, "Personally, I think that if they were to put these negotiations on TV, it would make everybody sit down and talk."

this strike'

Detroit: steelworkers raise funds for Stearns

By Brian Elam

DETROIT—Some 400 steelworkers, other unionists, auto workers, and their families turned out February 4 to show their support for striking coal miners.

United Steelworkers Local 2659 at McLouth Steel sponsored both morning and evening meetings at its headquarters in Southgate, downriver from Detroit, to raise funds for the miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

More than \$3,000 was contributed, and checks are still coming in, says Local 2659 Recording Secretary Dave Roop.

Two miners from Stearns, William King and Leonard Gibson, spoke briefly at the meetings, along with United Mine Workers Press Secretary

Paul Fortney and Detroit local union officials.

"It makes me feel real good deep down inside," King said, "to see that there are this many working people here that support the miners. If we get a contract, you can count on us miners to support you if you go out on strike here."

The film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* and a videotape about the Stearns strike were shown at the meetings. A group of Local 2659 members, the Kentuckians, provided entertainment.

McLouth workers have a special relation to the Stearns miners—Blue Diamond Coal Company, which owns the Stearns mine and refuses to sign a UMWA contract, is also a stockholder in McLouth Steel.



Stearns striker and family

UMW Journal

San Francisco: unions set coal support rally

By Robert West

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly seventy-five enthusiastic Bay Area unionists gathered here February 4 to plan a mass solidarity rally for striking coal miners.

The rally will be held February 24 at the Plumbers hall in San Francisco, 1621 Market Street, at 8:00 p.m.

The planning meeting, called by the Miners Strike Labor-Community Support Coalition, was opened by Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100. Johnson pointed out the special responsibility unionists everywhere have to support the coal miners.

Bill Worthington, a leader of the Black Lung Association in Kentucky, also spoke. He discussed the safety and health hazards in the mines.

Dozens of unions were represented at the meeting, including officials from the Steelworkers, Communications Workers, Transport Workers, building trades, Retail Clerks, Longshoremen, Clothing and Textile Workers, Office and Professional Employees, Typographical Union, and others.

Speakers at the meeting stressed that the need for solidarity is great despite rumors of an impending settlement. It was agreed that the rally would proceed unless all the miners—including those at Stearns, Kentucky—were back at work with signed contracts.

The coalition plans mailings to union members, leafleting at factories



Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100, helped initiate broad labor support coalition.

and workplaces, and campus speaking engagements for the miners.

"This response is unprecedented," said one steel union activist. "It is testimony to the great respect within the labor movement for the United Mine Workers, as well as to the growing understanding that unless the attack on the coal miners is met and defeated it will be expanded to other unions."

The coalition is organizing out of Retail Clerks Local 1100's offices. For more information call (415) 863-3823.

Auto workers face new round of mass layoffs

By James Patch

DETROIT—Despite the record-breaking production levels and profits that marked the auto industry in 1977, the new year threatens layoffs once again for thousands of auto workers. A mood of uncertainty pervades Detroit's auto plants.

What is certain, however, is that more than 20,000 auto workers were laid off during the last two weeks of January.

Chrysler scheduled down time at three large assembly plants—the Lynch Road and Hamtramck plants in the Detroit area and the Newark, Delaware, plant. In addition, Ford shut down its Louisville, Kentucky, plant over the week of January 23.

The press has reported that Chrysler plans another round of temporary layoffs in February. Chrysler refuses to deny or confirm these rumors. Company policy, you see, is to give workers only one week's warning before layoffs.

Even more alarming is the spread of large-scale indefinite layoffs. American Motors, which just announced a 12 percent gain in first-quarter operating profits, confirmed that it has laid off 1,200 hourly workers at Wisconsin plants—800 in Kenosha and 400 in Milwaukee.

Chrysler has sent notices to 1,000 workers at its Sterling Heights, Michigan, stamping plant.

All these layoffs reflect the current decline in auto production, which is down 5.1 percent from last year's figures.

But are they only temporary efforts to "reallocate inventories," as auto executives say? Or are they the first

wave of many more layoffs to come? It all depends on who you listen to.

According to the annual industrial economic outlook issued on January 8 by the federal Commerce Department, this round of layoffs is only the first of several that will eventually reflect a 6 percent decline in production for 1978.

Ten thousand auto workers will be unemployed by the year's end, the report concludes.

But General Motors Chairman Thomas Murphy, along with other industry spokesmen, disagrees. He told the February 15 *Detroit News*, "Earlier this week, the Commerce Department in Washington issued a report that was bullish for virtually every industry except the automobile industry. I won't call this nonsense but I do wonder where Washington gets its information. We in Detroit think we know our industry better than anyone else."

In fact, neither the auto bosses nor their economic advisors in the Commerce Department know from one day to the next what's going to happen in the auto industry. But auto workers know that neither opinion offers much to them.

If production is down in 1978, it will mean unemployment lines, hopeless job seeking, and a severe decline in living standards.

If production is up, it will mean forced overtime and speedup.

The current uncertainty—fueled by rumors and last-minute layoffs—is meant to soften up the ranks of the United Auto Workers union for either eventuality. The UAW needs to fight seriously for its oft-stated goal of a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to forestall these attacks.

Minn. farmers protest dangerous power line

By Rainer Horn

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Farmers in Pope County, 100 miles northwest of here, are organizing vehement protests against the construction of a 400-kilovolt (KV) direct-current power line slated to carry electricity from North Dakota to Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The line's load is equal to 800,000 volts of normal household (alternating) current, making it one of the highest loaded lines in the country.

"The biological effects of EHV [extremely high voltage] lines are not known but are of great concern," noted a Minnesota Department of Health official.

Available scientific information suggests the line may pose serious health risks. The 400-KV line will emit microwaves, produce ozone, and create a constant risk of dangerous electric shock.

The level of microwave emission the line is expected to emit can cause cataracts, blood changes, and other biological effects.

Ozone is a highly toxic pollutant that can damage nerve endings.

One of the biggest risks, however, is the possibility of electric shock. All metal buildings near the line must be grounded, although such grounding does not guarantee safety.

Refueling tractors or other motor vehicles near the line is supposed to be forbidden. Farmers are "encouraged" to wear grounding chains when they work near the line. And school buses may not load or unload near it.

The power companies, however, will not be liable for any accidents, and any damage to the line is the responsibility of the landowner. Farmers will

not even get an annual rent for the 8,500 acres of prime agricultural land the line will take up. They will receive only a single lump-sum payment.

Adding insult to injury, farmers must continue to pay taxes on the land the line's towers and right-of-way will take up, even though they cannot grow anything on it.

Pope County has become the center of mass opposition to the construction of the power line. Between 150 and 600 angry farmers have turned out for daily meetings in Lowry. There have been several attempts to nonviolently prevent construction work.

Area farmers want construction halted until all safety and health questions are resolved to their satisfaction.

The Minnesota state government has demonstrated which side it is on by sending 150 state troopers to "protect" construction crews.

The farmers have won almost unanimous support from small businesses in the area. Lowry storefronts sport signs reading "Farmers United Against Low Prices and Powerlines, United We Stand"; "State Police in a Police State"; and "Remember Kent State."

On January 23 more than 1,200 farmers and their supporters from all over the state converged on the state capitol in St. Paul to convince the legislators to stop construction of the line. Most of the farmers came away unimpressed.

One woman said her representative had said, "'Yes, yes, yes, yes,' but he also said that if somebody else comes tomorrow saying the opposite he would also say, 'yes, yes, yes, yes.' At least he was honest."

Marroquin backers submit evidence

Mexican gov't frame-up charges refuted

By Arnold Weissberg

Documents gathered by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee prove that charges by the Mexican government against the political refugee are completely fabricated.

The defense committee is organizing

support for Marroquín's request for political asylum in the United States.

Marroquín fled Mexico in 1974 after he and several other students at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey were falsely accused of murdering a university librarian. He has lived in this country since then. Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The U.S. government now intends to deport Marroquín.

Marroquín's appeal for asylum is based on the fact that his life would be in danger at the hands of the Mexican police if he were forced to return there. The Mexican government is notorious for its systematic violations of the human rights of political activists.

Gathering evidence

Last November, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) granted Marroquín a "preliminary hearing."

"Actually, the 'hearing' was just an interview," commented Margaret Winter, Marroquín's attorney. "The government hadn't given us enough time to bring in witnesses and produce documents to show why Marroquín should get asylum."

The defense committee has been gathering such materials, and Winter has now begun sending them to the INS.

The INS is not supposed to begin deportation proceedings against Marroquín until it has ruled on his asylum request. However, such a ruling could come at any time.

"This deportation hearing is a sword hanging over our heads," said Roger Rudenstein, a defense committee coordinator. "Since the hearing could come any time, we have to work as hard as we can now to win support and raise money." Rudenstein estimated that legal expenses would reach more than \$20,000.

Some of the dozens of documents already sent to the INS include documents proving that Marroquín was in the United States at the time he was supposedly committing crimes and reports and affidavits describing Mexico's repressive political atmosphere.

Hysteria campaign

The Mexican police have long used the press as judge and jury against political activists.

For example, a January 19, 1974, clipping from *El Norte*, the biggest paper in Monterrey, was headlined "Descubren el 'FER'" (Discover the 'FER')." The "FER" was supposed to be a secret terrorist organization the cops uncovered in their "investigation" of the murder of the university librarian.

Marroquín and five other students were named as the central leaders of this nonexistent group.

Another item, from September 1974, refers to alleged terrorists as "mad dogs" and accuses Marroquín of having taken part in the robbery of a large bakery in Monterrey.

Attorney Winter, however, has submitted hospital records proving Marroquín was in a Galveston, Texas, hospital the day of the robbery. Winter has also submitted news accounts of the fates of some of the students who were accused with Marroquín: two have been killed, and a third—Jesús Piedra Ibarra—was arrested in 1975 and has "disappeared."

The press accounts seek to whip up a hysterical campaign against "terrorists" through sensationalistic headlines and lurid pictures.

Winter has also sent the INS affidavits from academic experts on Mexico.

Timothy Harding, associate professor of history at California State University at Los Angeles, wrote, "It is my unqualified opinion that [Marroquín]

New support



Among the latest endorsers of Marroquín's asylum request are (from top): actor Ossie Davis; Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union; and playwright and critic Eric Bentley.

Pamphlet now available

My Story, a sixteen-page pamphlet written by Héctor Marroquín, has just come off the press, the Marroquín Defense Committee announced February 6.

The pamphlet is a political autobiography outlining why Marroquín became a socialist, his rejection of the strategy of guerrilla warfare, and his view of the necessity of mass action for fundamental social change.

The pamphlet also tells of his experiences as a campus activist in Mexico and of the brutal repression by the government there. It offers a powerful rebuttal of the frame-up charges lodged against him by Mexican authorities.

"We can make Marroquín's story widely known by selling this pamphlet," says Roger Rudenstein, a defense committee coordinator. "Selling it can also help to raise money for the defense."

"I hope Marroquín supporters around the country will think big when they order," he said.

Designed to sell for fifty cents, *My Story* costs thirty-five cents per copy for orders of ten or more.

MY STORY

By Héctor Marroquín



The Struggle for
Political Asylum in the U.S.

\$50

Order from: Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

would face persecution should he return to Mexico at this time."

Harding described the unrest among workers, peasants, and students that has posed a continuing political challenge to the Mexican government. The regime's response, said Harding, has been stiff repression.

"... [T]he Lopez Portillo government would not, and could not ignore the return of Héctor Marroquín Manríquez. His freedom in Mexico would be an encouraging symbol to the very people the government now actively seeks to discourage. As a student of the current social, economic and political situation in Mexico, I can unhesitatingly assert that the political persecution of Héctor Marroquín Manríquez will be a near certainty; or, worse, his physical elimination at the hands of government-sponsored terrorist groups," Harding concluded.

Other evidence has come from John Womack, professor of history at Harvard, and James Cockcroft, associate professor of sociology at Rutgers.

Winter believes the evidence submitted so far makes a compelling case. "According to the law, if a refugee has a 'well-founded fear' of persecution for his or her political ideas, he or she is supposed to get asylum here."

However, she added, the defense wants to bring in witnesses from Mexico for firsthand testimony about their experiences and the repressive conditions there.

Winter also explained that INS District Director Joe Staley has already sent the record of the "preliminary hearing" to the State Department for an "advisory opinion."

Winter said she has written to the State Department asking them to reserve decision until Marroquín has had a chance to rebut all accusations against him.

* * *

Héctor Marroquín has sent a message of solidarity to the Wilmington Ten, nine Black men and a white woman framed up in North Carolina in 1972 for their civil rights activities. North Carolina Gov. James Hunt refused to pardon them earlier this month despite worldwide outrage against the racist frame-up.

Marroquín tour set

Héctor Marroquín will be bringing his case to the American people in a national speaking tour that begins February 14 in San Antonio.

Marroquín's supporters in San Antonio are on an aggressive campaign to publicize and win sponsors for the four days of events.

Talks by Marroquín are planned on three campuses. In addition, a citywide rally and benefit for the defense is scheduled for Friday, February 17. Speaking along with Marroquín will be city council member Bernardo Eureste.

Marroquín is also slated to appear on a Spanish-language TV talk show.

Thursday night, February 16, Marroquín will speak at the University of Texas at Austin.

The tour dates through the end of March are:

San Antonio	Feb. 14-17
Dallas	Feb. 18-21
Portland, Ore.	Feb. 23-25
Seattle/Tacoma	Feb. 27-28
San Francisco/	
Bay Area	March 1-9
San Diego	March 10-11
Los Angeles	March 12-17
New York City	March 19-30

Cites 'public doubt'

Gov't gives up case against Narciso & Perez

By Diane Wang

Government prosecutors were finally forced to admit what thousands of people had already concluded: there is no evidence to convict Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso of poisoning.

On February 1 the government dropped all charges against the two Filipina nurses.

Narciso and Perez were convicted last July of poisoning patients at the veterans hospital in Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the summer of 1975.

But last December federal Judge Philip Pratt ordered a new trial. The prosecutors, the judge said, had been guilty of "persistent misconduct" that "polluted the waters of justice" and turned the trial into a "game of five-card stud poker."

During the trial the government withheld information from the defense. During the investigation the FBI grilled the nurses for as long as six hours, sometimes without defense counsel present.

The government put seventy-eight witnesses on the stand for nine weeks of testimony and spent \$250,000 on FBI chemical analysis. But in the end, what prosecutor Richard Yanko called



Filipina Narciso (left) and Leonora Perez

"one of history's darkest crimes" turned out to be just another murky frame-up.

All that the prosecutors managed to prove was that the nurses were in the

vicinity of patients when poisonings occurred. But that was not much, considering that in 1975 the hospital's security was so lax that any personnel, patients, or visitors had access to both

the victims and the poison.

On the other hand, a witness whose hospital bed had been across from a victim's room testified that neither Narciso nor Perez had gone into the room before the poisoning. Another patient, who survived poisoning, recalled seeing a man run from his room just before the attack.

And on top of all that, a nursing supervisor who later committed suicide confessed to the poisonings.

The government's decision to drop all the charges is a victory for Narciso and Perez. It is also a victory for the defense committees, women's groups, and nurses associations who organized nationwide protests on behalf of the two women.

Lack of evidence has never stopped the government from attempting a frame-up. The difference this time, as U.S. Attorney James Robinson explained, was "the pervasive public doubt and concern as to the defendants' guilt."

Robinson's statement showed the real fear behind the government's decision to drop the case: "Such expressions of public skepticism . . . bode ill for public confidence in our institutions."

UFW announces end of grape, lettuce boycott

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers union announced January 31 that it was ending its boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines.

The announcement formalizes a situation that has existed for well over a year. During this period there had been almost no organized boycott activity by the union.

Marc Grossman, principal aide to UFW President César Chávez, told a news conference that the boycott was no longer needed because of the effectiveness of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which allows field workers to petition for union representation elections.

Grossman's assertion flatly contradicts the UFW's many previous charges that the growers have persistently flouted the statute and that the ALRB has failed or refused to enforce it.

The union currently has several contracts with lettuce growers and only one with a grape grower.

At Gallo, the ALRB has stalled the union for more than two years. A union representation election was held there on September 10, 1975. At that time, the UFW challenged the ALRB's refusal to validate the ballots of a

number of its members. As of this writing, the ALRB is still "considering" the case.

The UFW's grape boycott was initially begun in 1965. By 1970, in combination with mass picketing and other public protest activities, the boycott had developed such strength that almost all of California's principal grape growers signed three-year contracts with the union.

In 1973, however, the growers refused to renew those contracts and signed phony agreements with Teamsters union officials behind the backs of the field hands. The boycott was renewed at that time.

The lettuce boycott was begun in 1970 when the growers also used the strategy of signing sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters to keep out the UFW.

Last year the Teamsters officials abandoned their union-busting role and withdrew from the fields.

But the growers have shown no greater willingness to sign contracts with the UFW. There are a quarter of a million field workers in California, of which the UFW claims to have about 10 percent under contract. Most of its eighty-four contracts are with small growers.

The union decision to formally end the boycott comes at a time when its leadership appears to be shifting toward more conservative positions.

At the union convention last August, Chávez announced that most of the union's volunteer staff members were being removed. There was veiled red-baiting against some volunteers by Chávez, and open red-baiting by Grossman.

At the convention, some UFW members protested Chávez's friendly relations with the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. Chávez responded that this relationship helps win farm workers from the Philippines to the union.

At the time that Chávez announced the purge of volunteer staffers, he indicated that the UFW would devote itself more to the "practical" activities typical of other unions today.

The main source of the UFW's successes up to this point, however, has been the fact that it was regarded by the field workers and supporters generally as *la causa*—a social movement concerned with broader goals of justice for the bitterly exploited and oppressed field workers.



Militant/Harry Ring
At height of UFW strike, boycotts helped publicize 'la causa' and involve masses of supporters around country.

Sadat comes to U.S., gets no help from Carter

By David Frankel

Faced with continuing Israeli intransigence, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat is once again pleading for help from Washington. Sadat made his latest futile appeal upon his arrival in the United States February 3 and was quickly turned down by the Carter administration.

A top-ranking administration official explained to reporters in Washington that Carter has no intention of pushing for Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab land seized by the Zionist state during the 1967 war. In addition, the official restated the refusal of the U.S. government to support any formula on Palestinian rights that could leave open the possibility of an independent Palestinian state.

At the same time, Washington tried to maintain its stance as a supposedly impartial mediator. The Carter administration stressed that it did not favor the retention of Zionist settlements in the Sinai Peninsula after the return of that area to Egyptian sovereignty.

New York Times columnist James Reston summed up the situation February 5 as follows: "Sadat is not going to get Carter to withdraw military aid from Israel or give new weapons to Egypt to establish some new military balance of power in the Middle East. And [Israeli Prime Minister Menachem] Begin is not going to get the support of Carter for his new settlements on the West Bank and military establishment on Egyptian territory."

But this has been Washington's policy ever since the 1967 war—official

disapproval of Israeli settlements on Arab land, while providing the military and economic aid that makes the policy of *de facto* annexation feasible.

Reston spelled out Carter's intentions with considerable frankness. As he put it, "the whole point of Carter's invitation to Sadat to come to Camp David is to keep the dialogue going on philosophical and future questions rather than on mathematical boundaries, military enclaves, and shipments of F-15 fighter planes to Israel, Saudi Arabia and Egypt."

The policy, in other words, is simply to stall on any real changes in the status quo. As Reston notes, if Carter waits "for the Israelis and the Egyptians to agree on a philosophical basis for compromise in the future, without

decisive interference by the United States . . . he will wait for a very long time."

A similar point was made by Sen. Jacob Javits, a strong supporter of the Israeli state. "This whole [negotiating] process can work, but it's going to be protracted," Javits commented.

Meanwhile, the Zionist regime is taking advantage of the situation to tighten its grip on the occupied territories. On January 31—the same day that negotiations on military issues between the Israelis and Egyptians resumed—the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* announced the establishment of three new settlements in the occupied West Bank. *Ma'ariv* reported that the Begin regime is planning a total of thirty-nine new colonies in the West Bank alone.

'Militant' renewal drive

New readers eager to talk about socialism

By Harvey McArthur

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—Who reads the *Militant*? And what do they think about it? That's what we hoped to find out when we launched the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* renewal drive in Brooklyn last week.

Trying to see as many new readers as possible, talking to them about socialism, finding out what they are thinking about: This sort of follow-up campaign to last fall's big subscription drive was all very new to us. But after the first few days of visits, members of the Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party are extremely excited about the people we are meeting.

I went out last Wednesday with Mary Smyth, Brooklyn sales director, on the first renewal team of the campaign.

After a little driving around, we found the first address we were looking for—that of someone named Pierre who had bought a subscription at Medgar Evers College.

We knocked on the door and talked to his mother first. When we explained who we were, she invited us in and told us to take off our coats and sit down.

Pierre turned out to be a young Haitian worker who had been taking night courses at the college.

We spent more than an hour talking that night. About racism and what the U.S. corporations do in the Caribbean. About deportations and the need to unite against them.

"I'm a socialist," Pierre told us. "And I want the U.S. imperialists out of my country. I think my country has to do what Cuba did."

He explained that he liked the *Militant*'s coverage on the Middle East most and that he intended to renew his subscription as soon as it expired.

We finally left, but only after setting a time to get together next week to talk some more.

This experience was not an exception.

On Saturday I went with Gale Shangold to visit a Puerto Rican family who had subscribed to the *Militant*.

They had come to New York from Puerto Rico three years ago. They invited us to stay and have coffee and talk for a while.

"Puerto Rico is really a colony of the United States," they told us. "American banks, people like Rockefeller, own the big enterprises there. That's why there are problems. We think Puerto Rico



Militant/Doug Clark
Thousands of new readers subscribed to the 'Militant' last fall. Now these new readers are being visited by 'Militant' supporters all over the country.

should be independent—like Albizu Campos said.

"A newspaper like the *Militant* is important because all the 'big papers' are controlled by the rich. They don't tell you the kinds of things that you read in a socialist paper."

They told us of marching in a demonstration last fall demanding freedom for the Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners. And now they want to subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Other renewal teams reported similar experiences. Everyone has been friendly and has had things to talk about.

Of course, many did not have the money to buy a renewal subscription right there. But most made sure to set a time when we could come back and get it.

One of the most exciting things about these visits has been learning more about Brooklyn and the people in it.

We sold subscriptions last fall to people we had

not met before and who had probably never heard of the *Militant* or the Socialist Workers Party. Most had not been involved in political groups or activities before. We might never have run into them if we hadn't been knocking on their door that day.

These new subscribers are very concerned about unemployment, education, racism, and deportations. They do not have much hope that the Democrats or Republicans will do anything for them. And they are trying to find out why things are the way they are and what can be done about them.

They like the *Militant* and *Perspectiva* because these publications help them get information and answers they need.

This experience is only the beginning.

We have more than 200 new subscribers living in Brooklyn, and we are going to reach as many as possible this month. We divided up this list into groups of five or ten so that each renewal team has several people to see in the same general area.

Initially we are concentrating on the sixty subscribers we have in two big housing projects. This makes it easy for us to spend time looking for people and finding at least some at home.

We have also singled out students who bought subscriptions at several Brooklyn colleges. We are visiting them on weeknights, since they don't live on campus.

We have organized a series of informal discussions for new readers and think we will get a good turnout for the first one.

Some readers weren't sure they could come, but they invited us back to talk with them again. With some, we discussed inviting friends of theirs to take part in the discussions.

The renewal teams also took petitions in support of Héctor Marroquín's appeal for asylum. One team reports that every person they talked to signed right away. We also sold several pamphlets and plan to take more literature next time. And one team couldn't find any subscribers home at first, and so they went door to door, selling sixteen copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva* in an hour.

As one excited socialist summed up the work so far: "This is fun!"

"When people have been reading the *Militant*, finding out about the SWP and its ideas and activities—it makes them very eager to talk with us again."

Defend affirmative action

Meetings will explain issues in 'Bakke' fight

By John Hawkins

Supporters of affirmative-action programs to combat race and sex discrimination are mounting a nationwide educational campaign to demand reversal of the *Bakke* ruling.

The *Bakke* case stems from a "reverse discrimination" suit in California against a minority-admissions program at a university medical school. The California Supreme Court upheld the false claim of plaintiff Allan Bakke that he had been discriminated against because sixteen minority students were admitted to the school while he was rejected. Bakke claims he is "better qualified."

Last fall the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision (NCOBD) issued a call for an April 15 March on Washington, April 8 re-

gional actions, and a February 19-26 week of educational activities. Student organizations, women's groups, trade unionists, and organizations of oppressed minorities have all responded to that call.

Supporters of affirmative action in Seattle have organized a broad array of activities the week of February 19 to help explain the stakes in the fight. *Militant* correspondent Harold Schlechtweg reports that students at the University of Washington in Seattle are planning a campus speakout February 23. It is sponsored by the Seattle NCOBD, UW Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), and Women Emerge—a campus feminist organization.

The UW chapter of MEChA, a Chicano campus group, and the Campus Christian Ministry are also planning educational events. The University YWCA has scheduled a forum to discuss women and the *Bakke* decision.

In addition, an Asian community speakout and potluck dinner will take place February 23, involving Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Samoan groups.

And the city of Seattle Office of Women's Rights is sponsoring a panel discussion on *Bakke* and its implications for women's rights February 24.

Militant correspondent Ellen Bobroff reports from Boston that students at the University of Massachusetts there have formed a coalition to organize

campus participation in anti-*Bakke* protests. The coalition was initiated by the U-Mass Boston SCAR, the Puerto Rican Student Union, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A city-wide student meeting to plan activities is scheduled for February 13 at Harvard University. James Harris, NSCAR national coordinator, is scheduled to speak there and at a debate at U-Mass later the same day. The debate is part of a series of educational activities planned by the campus April 15 coalition.

In addition, anti-*Bakke* activists have scheduled a panel discussion on the *Bakke* case during the national week of educational activities. They will also be organizing students to

attend the city-wide speakout February 24 sponsored by the Boston Coalition for April 15.

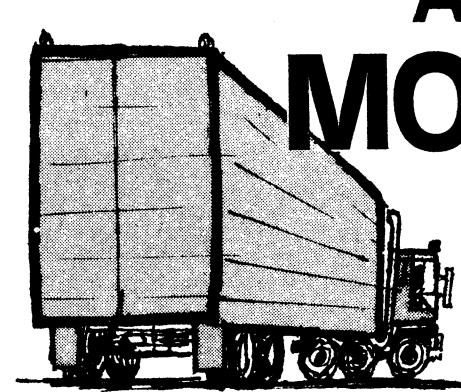
The first issue of the *NOW New Jersey Newsletter*, which is mailed to more than 700 members of the National Organization for Women in New Jersey, reports that the NOW state board voted at its January 14-15 meeting to endorse the April 15 March on Washington. Organizing women to participate in the march, the article says, should be a top priority of all chapters.

Essex County NOW has also endorsed the April 15 march and established a task force to help educate women on the importance of the *Bakke* case to all affirmative-action programs.

Affirmative Action vs. Seniority

by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 30 pp., 50 cents
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Are you MOVING?



Take the 'Militant' with you. To avoid missing a single issue, send us notice of your change of address right away. Be sure to include the address label off your copy.

Vote SWP in N.Y. election

Socialist to Senate panel: 'Open FBI files!'

By José G. Pérez

Among those testifying at the recent hearings on the confirmation of federal Judge William Webster as the FBI's new top cop was Dianne Feeley, representing the Socialist Workers Party.

Feeley is the SWP candidate for Congress in New York's Eighteenth District, which includes both the superrich Upper East Side and the impoverished Lower East Side.

Along with Nelson González, SWP candidate in the Twenty-first Congressional District in the South Bronx, Feeley is running in a February 14 special election.

In her testimony, given January 31 before the Judiciary Committee, Feeley put the spotlight on the crucial question the senators wouldn't confront—the FBI's long record of ignoring and violating constitutional rights.

She recounted how the SWP and Young Socialist



Dianne Feeley, testifying before Senate Judiciary Committee hearing on new FBI chief, and Nelson González (right), socialist candidates for Congress in New York's February 14 election.

Alliance, through their landmark lawsuit against the government and its political police, have forced the bureau to reveal some of its criminal operations against dissenters—including wiretapping, burglary, and witch-hunting people out of jobs.

Feeley's testimony was picked up by major news media. An Associated Press story reported that Feeley said Webster's nomination "increases our concern" about government spying and harassment. Feeley's testimony was also reported on WCBS radio in New York and by a California radio station, as well as by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.

In her testimony, Feeley explained that just this fall Judge Webster signed an appeals court decision about the SWP suit defending the so-called informer privilege.

"According to this 'privilege,'" Feeley said, "government informers have the 'right' to complete secrecy—no matter what they do."

"The American people have the right to know what their government has done and the full extent to which the Bill of Rights has been violated. . . .

"We demand that Judge Webster, or whoever is confirmed [as FBI head], open all FBI files immediately."

Feeley also blasted Webster for his membership in all-white, all-male clubs.

Feeley's testimony came in the middle of the brief campaign to fill seats left vacant by Ed Koch, who just became mayor of New York, and Herman Badillo, who accepted a high post in the Koch administration.

Feeley is a member of the National Organization for Women and past chairperson of New York NOW's ERA task force.

Feeley is running against Bella Abzug, who has the Democratic and Liberal party nominations, and William Green, a Republican.

Abzug, the front runner, depicts herself as a women's rights fighter and friend of working people. Feeley challenges these claims, noting that Abzug is a Democrat, a leader of a party that is playing the major role in driving down the standard of living of New York working people.

Abzug backed Koch in the recent New York mayoral election, even though Koch ran basically on a two-point platform—more cutbacks and reinstitution of the death penalty.

And Abzug's strategy of telling women to rely on the Democratic Party contradicts her claim to be a champion of women's rights, too. The Democratic Party has carried out attacks on federal funding for abortions, helped stall ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and launched an assault against affirmative-action plans for women and minorities.

Feeley and the SWP, on the other hand, have worked to mobilize women independently in the streets to demand their full rights and nothing less.

The other SWP candidate, Nelson González, a bilingual teacher, is a member of the United Federation of Teachers and the Puerto Rican Educators Association. He has been active in the struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community control of District 1 schools and in the anticutbacks Coalition to Save Hostos College.

On February 4 both candidates appeared at an open house at the socialist campaign offices in the Lower East Side.

González's four opponents are all Puerto Rican Democrats.

Because of New York's undemocratic election laws, however, neither González nor Feeley will appear on the ballot. People who want to vote socialist should write either Nelson González or Dianne Feeley in the space provided for write-ins.

CP backhandedly backs Abzug

While the Socialist Workers Party is running a write-in candidate against Bella Abzug to explain to working people, women, and oppressed minorities the need to break from the two big-business-run parties, the Communist Party is once again beating the drums for a "progressive" Democrat.

Writing in the February 4 *Daily World*, the CP's newspaper, Amadeo Richardson glowingly praises Abzug for "advancing people's causes in the halls of Congress and in the streets of New York" when she last held a seat in the House of Representatives.

Richardson cautions, "Although the district is heavily Democratic, observers warned that an Abzug victory against Green should not be taken for granted because of the rich-conservative composition of much of the district. . . ."

While Richardson never says outright "Vote Democrat," the lavish praise and warnings of a Republican threat are tantamount to an endorsement of Abzug—especially in the absence of even a mention of the socialist alternative in the race.

Richardson admits that Abzug's "performance in recent elections has left many supporters disappointed. . . ." But he continues, "observers hope that Ms. Abzug will pick up her old steam and find her way back to the grass roots as Congresswoman."

—J.G.P.

SWP holds national rail workers conference

By Joel Britton

The Socialist Workers Party held a national rail workers conference last month in Detroit. Railworkers from six unions and party organizers and activists from thirty cities attended.

Speaking for the SWP Political Committee, Ed Heisler said that "because a radicalization is beginning among railroad workers" the time is right for the party to step up its activity in rail unions in a systematic and nationally coordinated way.

"The party," said Heisler, "is determined to push ahead with our turn toward industrial workers with special emphasis on steel, auto, and rail. . . .

"The rail carriers have given every sign that they intend to drive ahead with their plan to cut the wages, jobs, and other benefits of all railroad workers, with special attention being directed against the two operating craft unions, the United Transportation Union and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers."

Heisler cited recent "confirmation of the seriousness of these attacks":

- "Conrail . . . offered the Railway Clerks union a five-year contract providing for a 13 percent pay increase . . . a big cut in real wages because of inflation [and then] only if they make a profit."

- "In Detroit, UTU members working for Conrail are being forced to work twelve hours a day, seven days a week. Meanwhile, about 20 percent of the local has been laid off."

- "Company harassment and intimidation of union members and local officers are continuing to pick up across the country. Recently in Buffalo, Conrail fired several UTUers because of their union activity. Train crews responded with a 'work to rule' slowdown in an attempt to get these fired members reinstated."

- "About 2,000 track workers have been laid off by Conrail and Amtrak nationally in recent weeks. A demon-

stration was organized by some workers protesting the layoffs in Philadelphia."

What's needed in the rail union, Heisler explained, is a break from the class-collaborationist outlook of the bureaucracy that sits atop these unions and the construction of a massive class-struggle left wing.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party in rail unions strive to raise the political class consciousness of their co-workers and help them fight to change their unions into effective instruments for defending workers' rights and living standards.

Key to this strategy, Heisler noted, is seeking discussion in the unions on how to combat the employer offensive, how best to solidarize with the embattled coal miners on national strike, why all rail workers should oppose the reactionary *Bakke* decision that guts affirmative-action programs, and why rail workers should back civil liberties campaigns like the political asylum case of Héctor Marroquín.

Party rail workers are helping circulate a "Call to all railroad workers to defend our union," recently issued by a number of rail union officers and activists.

This call proposes a united action response to the carriers' "declaration

of war against all railroad labor organizations."

Central to an effective response will be the question of union democracy: measures to organize and mobilize the ranks around the *right to know* where negotiations with the carriers stand, the *right to vote* on any contracts reached with the carriers, and the *right to strike*."

As an immediate step, the call proposes that rail workers "meet together and organize ourselves in our different localities. Such joint meetings called by locals, lodges, other union bodies, and union officers of the various crafts . . . can be forums to discuss the current negotiations and to exchange ideas on how best to defend our unions."

For copies of the Call to defend our unions write Railroadworkers Fight-back Newsletter, P.O. Box 52, Enders, North Dakota 58027.

"Whether or not a big fight develops against the carriers' attacks," Heisler told the SWP rail conference, "our key tasks are clear. We must effectively carry out our party campaigns in the unions, invite railroad workers to attend our forums and classes, involve them in different social movements, and recruit railroad workers to the SWP."

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NOW'S ERA BOYCOTT

Making 'women's muscle' count?

By Shelley Kramer

The Richmond, Virginia, rally for the Equal Rights Amendment on January 22 pointed the way forward for the equal rights struggle. Organized by a coalition of labor unions, the Richmond demonstration of 3,200 set an example of how women and their allies—trade unionists, Blacks, students—can unite in visible actions for the ERA.

Richmond marked a first—labor unions mobilizing their ranks in defense of women's rights. It is an example that should be followed by labor and all ERA supporters in other states.

But when Edith Van Horn, a United

thing they really understand is the almighty dollar," Van Horn declared.

The UAW's endorsement of the ERA boycott was hailed in the national *NOW Times* as a "major breakthrough" in the ERA struggle.

NOW's boycott focuses on turning convention and tourist business away from unratified states. It is one of NOW's top priorities—the "action" end of a "new" ERA strategy that also includes electing pro-ERA Democrats and Republicans and lobbying Congress for an extension of the ERA's 1979 ratification deadline.

According to NOW leaders, the ERA boycott is proving effective. They estimate the loss for New Orleans at \$7 million; Chicago, \$15 million; Las Vegas, \$30 million; Atlanta, \$12 million. Eighty organizations have joined the boycott so far; NOW's goal is to win forty more endorsements by mid-February.

A "boycott team" consisting of several NOW leaders is coordinating the campaign from Washington. And "boycott kits" are on the way to chapters with instructions for rounding up endorsers.

Critics charge 'unfair'

NOW's boycott has come under fire from some in the media who question the "fairness" of the tactic, which they claim penalizes the "innocent" along with the "guilty."

These critics don't care about the "unfairness" of the fact that in key states in which the ERA failed to be ratified last year, opinion polls showed that large majorities of the people of these states favored ratification," the *NOW Times* replied. After fifty-five years of "playing fair," the editors wrote, the time has come to exercise real "muscle" in the form of the economic boycott.

The problem with the boycott is not that it is unfair or a "bullyish" use of



Militant/Greta Hill

Richmond trade-union rally for ERA points the way forward for equal rights struggle

the women's movement's "muscle power." On the contrary, we need more muscle in the ERA movement. But is the boycott tactic the answer?

To start with, we have to realize that boycotts are always hard to organize. Their success depends upon reaching the individual consumer. And NOW's boycott is incredibly ambitious—stopping convention and tourist business in fifteen states!

Even boycotts with far more limited objectives, conducted by the labor and civil rights movements, have proven difficult.

Where boycotts have had some success they have always been combined with strikes, organizing drives, educational campaigns, or other forms of visible actions.

One example is the United Farm Workers boycott that recently ended.

UFW & J.P. Stevens

The UFW called for a boycott of lettuce, grapes, and Gallo wines. Given reactionary antilabor laws, government protection of agribusiness, and Teamster raiding operations the UFW leaders resorted to the boycott tactic to muster support for their cause.

At its height the UFW boycott achieved some success, but only when it was part of a campaign to actively mobilize the farm workers and their supporters in strikes, caravans, picket lines, marches, and rallies. Through creating this public presence they were able to enlist wide support for the boycott.

But the boycott tactic can be elevated into a total strategy in order to avoid mobilizing the active support needed. It can provide a useful cover for a no-struggle policy.

Take the J.P. Stevens boycott.

The leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union hope the boycott will put enough pressure on businessmen and politicians to win their agreement to legal reforms making it easier to organize the South. The boycott has had a beneficial effect in helping publicize the plight of exploited textile workers and win sympathy for their fight.

Substitute for action

But union officials are using the boycott as an excuse to avoid mounting an aggressive organizing drive in the southern textile mills and mobilizing the power of the labor movement and its allies, North and South, in public protests and actions that could bring J.P. Stevens to its knees.

Thus the mills remain unorganized.

Is this different from what the NOW leaders propose for the ERA boycott? They don't rule out a mass action organizing campaign in so many words. They even occasionally threaten in their speechmaking to take to the streets.

But when it comes down to prioritiz-

ing the work of NOW's 70,000 members the same instructions are always repeated: lobby, elect friends, boycott.

It's no wonder that labor bureaucrats are adding their support for this strategy. The sentiment in the ranks of the unions is growing for the ERA—here is a way to offer token support.

The boycott tactic keeps union members, NOW members, and other ERA supporters—now the majority of the population—passive and atomized. It calls for the active involvement of only a handful of leaders and public relations experts. In this sense it is ready made for NOW's "ERA strike force," an appointed squad of sharpshooters charged with implementing NOW's ERA strategy.

To the extent NOW members can play any role, it is to lobby businessmen and the leaders of other organizations planning conventions. Their efforts are channeled away from building an independent movement of women and their allies to force the ERA through.

Demobilizing strategy

This demobilizing strategy comes at a time when the government is escalating its attacks upon women and reactionary forces are vocally presenting their line as that of the real majority. But for the leaders of the trade unions and NOW one fact outweighs all this: the Democratic Party rules Congress and the White House.

They firmly believe that reforms like the ERA can only be won by courting favor with liberal Democrats. So noisy, "embarrassing" tactics that assert the independence of the women's movement are shunned.

Instead, quiet, "sophisticated" measures that suit the strategy of dependence upon women's enemies in the capitalist parties gain importance: lobbying, electing "fair weather" friends, making countless "lesser evil" compromises.

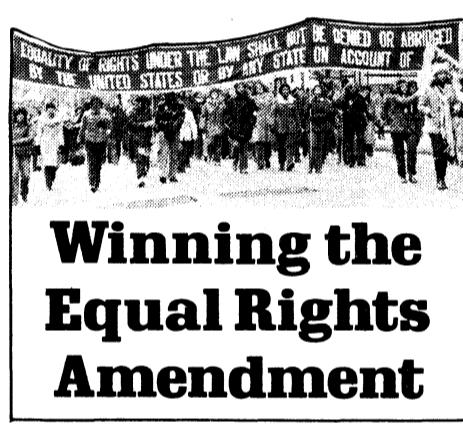
Rather than borrowing the militant tactics that built the labor movement, NOW's leaders are copying the union bureaucrats' course of seeking salvation from Washington.

In Richmond, Van Horn and other speakers tried to dress up the ERA boycott in the garb of labor's militant traditions. "We can win the ERA and we will win it," Van Horn said. "Because as 'Solidarity,' our great song says, in our hands is placed a power greater than their mighty gold...."

But the power the UAW's ballad describes is not the power of lobbyists, of postcard campaigns, or passive boycotts.

It is the power of active solidarity between labor and the oppressed.

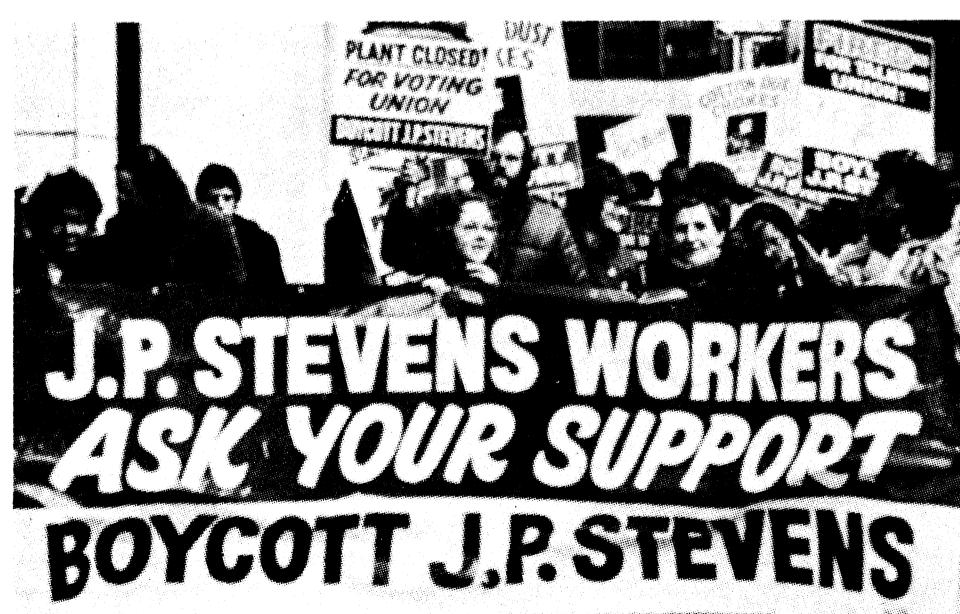
That is the power that trade unionists and women brought to Richmond, Virginia—a power that must be mobilized across the country to win the ERA.



Auto Workers legislative representative, addressed the January 22 rally, she spelled out a different concept of where labor should go after Richmond:

"The UAW national union with a million and a half members has taken an official position not to hold any other conventions or conferences in unratified states," she said. She was repeating a pledge Douglas Fraser, UAW president, had made on December 1 to join the NOW-initiated economic boycott of the fifteen states that have not ratified the ERA.

"That boycott is going to be as successful as was J.P. Stevens. As was the Farah boycott... I guess the only



J.P. Stevens boycott has publicized plight of southern textile workers. But union officials refuse to mobilize labor's power to organize them.

Stop forced sterilization!

In response to protests and lawsuits against forced sterilization, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) is considering new guidelines to curb abuses. The guidelines would require certain safeguards, including a thirty-day waiting period between the time a woman consents to be sterilized and the operation, as well as consent forms in the woman's own language.

HEW is holding public hearings on the guidelines. The following are excerpts from testimony at the January 17 hearings in Washington, D.C.:

Willie Mae Reid, women's liberation work director for the Socialist Workers Party:

"The government-financed policy of family planning and population control through the use of sterilization, nationally and abroad, has encouraged many doctors and federally funded health-care agencies to project their moral and racist attitudes onto the women who are the most vulnerable. Sterilization has become acceptable as a way of solving the problems of poverty and dictating life-styles for low-income women, young women, imprisoned women, and

institutionalized women.

"For women who must depend on welfare, Medicaid, and other government-funded medical care, the use of sterilization will increase. The Hyde amendment cut off their funds for abortion. More and more they will be forced to undergo sterilization in exchange for a safe abortion.

"The Socialist Workers Party unconditionally supports every woman's *right to choose*—when she will have children, how many children she will have, when she wants to have no more children, or if she will have any children at all. We believe the government has the responsibility to guarantee freedom of choice for women by making safe, legal abortions and safe birth-control methods—including federally funded sterilizations—available to all women, as well as to ensure maternity benefits for those women who want to bear children.

"The SWP supports a woman's *right to know* fully the facts about all of the medical procedures available. Medical professionals have the information about these procedures, and it shouldn't be kept secret. It should be provided to women. And it should be provided in the language they understand best. In the final analysis, only a woman has the *right to decide* if sterilization, abortion, child birth, or a particular birth-control method is the best procedure for her.

"But thousands of women have been denied this right. They have been forced to consent to sterilizations at the time of stress during or following delivery. Others have been threatened with loss of government income benefits or denial of medical services unless they 'consented' to be sterilized.

"The permanency of sterilization makes it necessary for women to have ample time to exercise their right to make an informed decision. Extending the period between consent and surgery from a mere three-day wait to thirty days can help to reduce the use of coercion in making women consent to being sterilized—a practice that has been documented.

"The Socialist Workers Party fully supports the women's movement in its successful efforts to educate and organize women around the need for better guidelines governing sterilization procedures. I see these new guidelines as the direct result of that successful work. I think women will need to move into action again and again to help ensure that improvements are made and implemented in the medical care available to women. That's why I support—and my party, the SWP, is helping to build—an independent women's liberation movement."

Veronica Blake, director of sterilization projects for the Women's Lobby:

"Dr. Curtis Wood, president of AVS [Association for Voluntary Sterilization] for fifteen years, shows

Women testify at public hearings on need to safeguard the right to choose

connection with consent obtained during labor or immediately after delivery when a woman is exhausted and/or drugged. A seventy-two-hour waiting period does not prevent such coercion, since a woman who experiences a long labor could give her 'consent' at the beginning of labor and be sterilized after seventy-two hours, when she had not fully rested or surfaced from the events and medication of labor and delivery."

Committee to End Sterilization Abuse:

"Puerto Rico serves as a warning of the dangers in denying a true freedom of choice. Family-planning programs there, which have never provided abortion, have achieved a rate of sterilization, as of 1968, of 35.3 percent of the women of childbearing age. Many were not aware of the irreversibility of the procedure, and over one-third evidenced regret, 72 percent of them because more children were desired. In 1974, the editors of *Family Planning Digest* wrote: 'As U.S. professional attitudes change, it is possible that we may see sterilization become as important in the fifty states as it already is in Puerto Rico.'

Elisa Sánchez, president of the Mexican American Women's National Association:

"As minority women, we are too painfully aware that this abuse has reached genocidal proportions especially against national origin and racial minority persons. Los Angeles County General Hospital is a good example of the abuse that has been practiced against Mexican American women. For example between 1968 and 1970 the number of sterilizations not medically necessary increased dramatically at the Women's Hospital; hysterectomies increased by 742 percent and tubal ligations increased by 470 percent. In the last five years, 1971-76, sterilizations have tripled, resulting in the increased sterilization of mainly Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Black, and poor women."

Norma Ero, a twenty-five-year-old mother of three in New York City:

"My name is Norma I. Ero. A tragic experience happened to me at Lincoln Hospital of New York City last year.

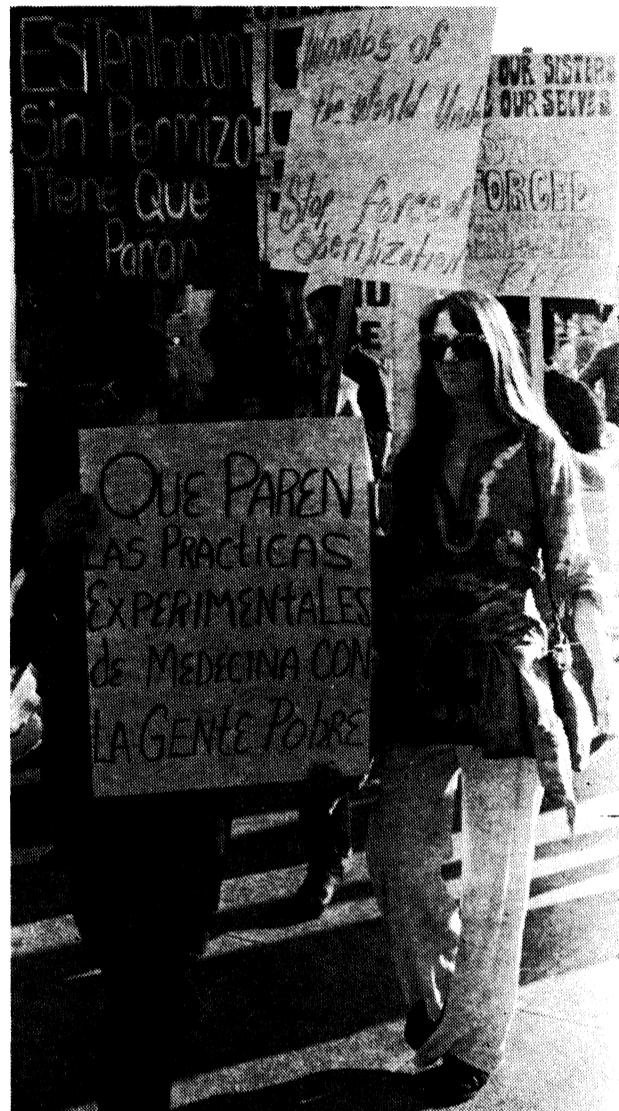
"I came in for a Pap test on or about December 26, 1976. The doctor told me that everyone who had had an ectopic pregnancy should have a tubal ligation. I had had an ectopic pregnancy the year before. The doctor asked why I didn't want to have a tubal ligation. I said I wanted at least one more child as a playmate for my daughter. The doctor told me they could put tubes back together again by undergoing surgery any time I wanted.

"So I had the tubal ligation on January 14, 1977. I came back in February and then in March, and the doctor kept talking about a hysterectomy. I became very worried and told the doctor to please tell me if I had cancer, that I could take it. The doctor told me that if I wanted to see my children grow up, I should have this operation. I asked what was wrong with me, they answered that it is the 'doctor's privilege' not to tell me exactly what I had. I was even more scared and went home crying. I had the hysterectomy on May 25, 1977.

"I went back to Lincoln Hospital in September. The doctor told me I needed another operation. I asked why, and he said that he was the doctor and that I was asking too many questions. I told him to 'go to hell' and walked out.

"Then I was told that a hospital committee said my hysterectomy was unjustified along with three other hysterectomies done in May and June. I felt terrible and got very depressed.

"Later I decided to speak out and help many other women who might go through the same thing that I did. I have sisters and friends, but most of all a daughter. I would hate to see them go through this terrible experience."



Militant/Miguel Pendás
'Sterilization without consent must stop,' 'Stop medical experiments on poor people.'

the vulnerability of poor women to possible sterilization coercion. Dr. Woods stated that 'after thirty years of delivering babies, I found that if the doctor does a proper job of offering sterilization to these women on welfare, a high percentage of them would accept it.'

"In a study of Mexican American women by the National Fertility Studies Office of Population Research at Princeton it was found that 21.7 percent of Mexican American women under forty-five who are not now or have never been married were sterilized.

"Dr. Constance Redbird Uri, a Choctaw-Cherokee physician and leader of Indian Women United for Social Justice, estimates that at least 25,000 Indian women between the childbearing ages of fifteen and forty-five have been sterilized.

"A study done by the National Fertility Studies, based on extensive interviews conducted with national probability samples of 5,884 married women, showed that three times as many Black women have been sterilized for birth-control purposes as white women. The report says that in 1970, 20 percent of married Black women practicing contraception had been sterilized. The figure for white women was 8 percent.

"Time plays a critical role in sterilization abuse. The thirty-day waiting period is accepted by the Women's Lobby and seen as necessary."

Margaret Kohn, on behalf of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) and the Women's Legal Defense Fund (WLDF):

"WLDF and NWPC support the thirty-day waiting period. Coercion has often been reported in

MINE SAFETY

What coal miners are striking for

By Dick Roberts

Why have 180,000 coal miners—with no strike benefits, with their medical insurance coverage cut off, with little to sustain them except their own determination—stayed out on strike for more than nine weeks?

To hear the coal operators and the big-business news media tell it, the reason is that the miners are stubborn, greedy, strikehappy, and socially irresponsible. Not to mention the dark hints that some of the miners' chief demands, notably the right to strike, are being promoted by "radicals" and "communists."

For those who are interested in the truth, however, it doesn't take long in the coalfields to understand that for the miners the strike issues are a matter of life and death.

Some 2,000 miners have been killed on the job in the past decade, 125 in 1977 alone.

Delegates at the 1976 convention of the United Mine Workers—who discussed and voted on a list of demands for the current strike—put job safety right at the top. They were determined to find a way to tighten up lax enforcement of federal and state mine safety laws.

They recommended that a top priority of contract negotiators be full-time health and safety committeepersons

paid by the company, but elected by and solely responsible to the local union.

These full-time representatives would be in addition to the union-controlled committees made up of working miners, provided for in the past contract.

All safety committees would continue to have the authority to shut down a job site or mine for health and safety reasons.

But the Bituminous Coal Operators Association is seeking to eliminate the authority of the union safety committees that already exist. Instead, the coal industry proposes reserving the power to close a mine only for federal or state mine inspectors, who are notorious for cooperating with the companies to cover up unsafe conditions.

The coal miners' demand for the right to strike flows directly from the safety issue. Only through the right to strike can miners enforce the union contract and safe working conditions.

The contract that expired December 6 made no mention of strikes, but the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that if contracts have grievance procedures, strikes over grievances are illegal. The coal companies make sure that grievances get bogged down in an expensive and time-consuming arbitration

process, taking months or years to settle.

The coal operators demand an explicit no-strike clause and severe penalties against miners who strike.

Conditions at Stearns

I recently got a firsthand account of mine safety conditions from William Taylor, one of the miners on strike against the Blue Diamond Coal Company's Justus Mine in Stearns, Kentucky. The Stearns miners have been on strike since July 1976 to win a UMWA contract. Safety is their number one reason.

Taylor had worked at the Justus mine for four years as a shuttle car driver before the strike began. "It is an underground mine," he explained, "and the shaft we were working in is 500 feet down."

"You know how an elevator drops a few inches before the gear catches. Well, our elevator falls what feels like ten, maybe fifteen feet sometimes, before that gear catches."

"The cage doors fly open as we go down. There is about another fifteen feet at the bottom below the entrance to our tunnel and sometimes the elevator goes down there so we have to wait for word to get back up and have the thing lifted."

For Taylor, the tunnel from the elevator shaft to the "working face" where new coal is being cut away is about three miles. Miners get to the face on low cars that are called "mantrips." It is to the advantage of the miners to have the mantrips go as near to the face as possible.

Injuries

For one thing this makes the remaining distance a shorter walk. More importantly, in the case of injury, it leaves less distance that has to be crawled over by hand to carry an injured miner out.

"The mantrip travels about a mile and a half," Taylor said. "And maybe you see it once a day. I think it would take us three of four hours at best to get an injured person to the top."

He continued, "There are always rocks on the floor, and we have to crawl over them."

Most coal mine tunnels are very low. The average miner can rarely stand upright in a mine tunnel. "High coal" is when the coal seam is taller than thirty-six inches. "Low coal" is when it is less.

"It ranges from two up to about five feet in the Justus mine," Taylor said. "There's one 500-foot section of the tunnel that is two feet high and it is all the way strewn with rocks."

Roof falls and the sides of the tunnel (ribs) falling in are the number one killer in underground mining.

Federal and state laws require that a certain width of the coal seam be left between the top of the tunnel and the shale and sandstone of the mountains that sandwich the coal seam. This "head coal" acts as a seal. When the shale is exposed to air instead of the "head coal" it begins to break up and fall.

This roof of coal is supposed to be secured with bolts that go through the head coal into the shale binding the two together. And the bolted section should come as near to the face as possible, leaving miners under the minimum of unprotected roof.

But even bolted roofs give way, especially when the necessary safety precautions have not been taken in their construction. Falling shale is the most dangerous part of underground mining.

Methane

The rocks are not, however, the biggest concern of the Stearns miners. It is the methane gas leaking in the Justus mine.

All underground mines have this highly explosive gas leaking into the shafts and tunnels. If you have lit a gas stove and seen how the invisible gas ignites—and flares up if you wait too long—you can grasp the danger for miners.

Throughout the mines there are machines run by electricity—the elevators, the belt lines, the mantrips, the buggies that carry the coal from the face to the conveyor belts. They are all potential sources of sparks that can ignite the methane gas.

Federal and state laws supposedly regulate the "acceptable" level of methane gas in the mines.

Miners and foremen have "canaries," hand-held gas detectors, which are supposed to be used every twenty minutes to check the methane level. They are so named because a canary dies when the methane reaches a dangerous level—this primitive method was once used for gas detection in the mines.

If the methane content reaches 1 percent, the electrical machinery is supposed to be cut off. At 1.5 percent the mines should be evacuated.

In addition, there are today "sniffers" on the machinery at the mine faces. They are supposed to automatically shut off the machines at the 1 percent level and at 1.5 percent give the evacuation signal.

Furthermore there are fans to ventilate the mines, bringing in fresh air and carrying out bad air with its methane gas and coal dust.

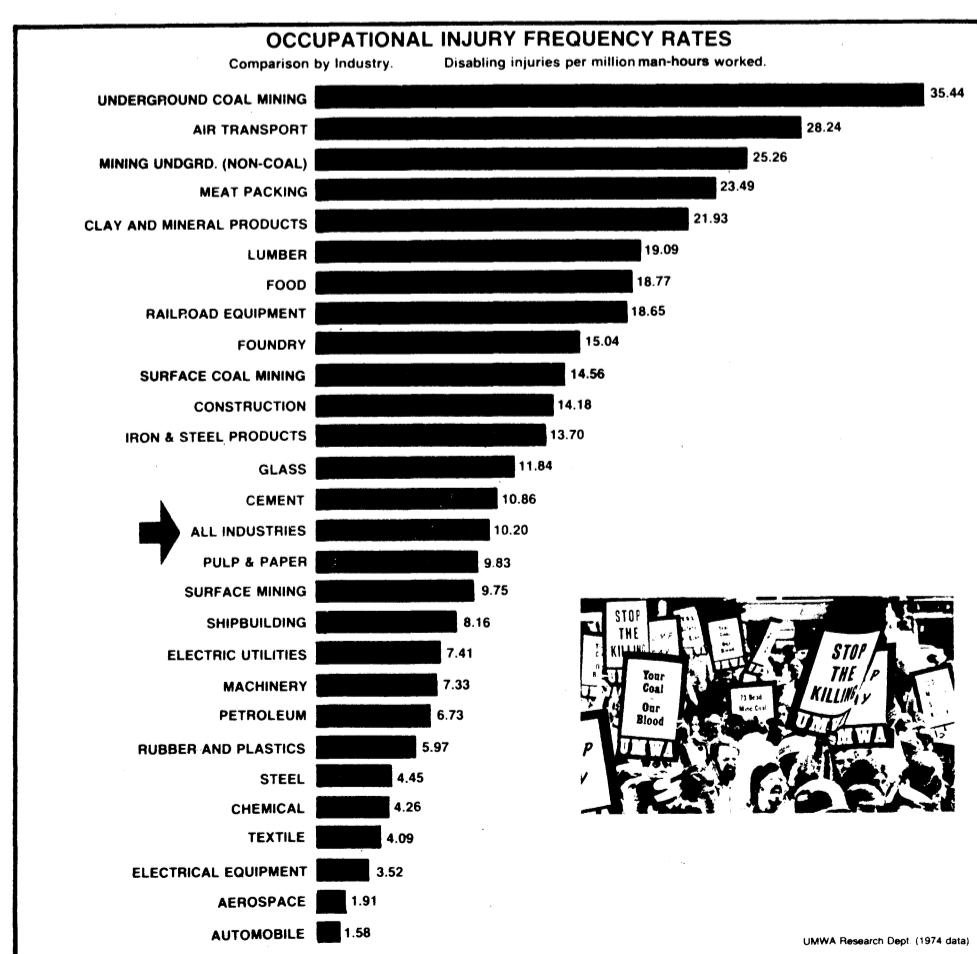
Coal dust

Coal dust causes black lung. It is also tremendously explosive. It is when the methane gas is ignited in an area of high coal dust concentration that underground explosions rip through the mines and kill scores of miners.

For this reason there is supposed to be another safety precaution of the utmost importance. Throughout the entire mine, rock dust—very finely crushed stone—must be spread thoroughly on the roof, ribs, and floors. This covers and breaks down the concentration of coal dust.

But there are a lot of pitfalls. When the miners believe the machinery to be defective or the mine to be unsafe for any reason they can—at the risk of being fired—call up the local inspector of the federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration. The MESA inspector is then supposed to come over and check the conditions. Legally MESA can close a mine until it meets the federal and state safety standards.

"But suppose he's bought off," Taylor said. "He gets on the phone, calls up Blue Diamond and says, 'I'm on the way over there. Why don't you clean up a section for me.' That's all."



Even without a complaint, federal inspections are legally required four times a year. But that doesn't necessarily mean they happen.

In unionized mines the safety committees have the contractual right to close the mines. The trouble is that the companies are quick to frame up and fire safety committee members who try to do their job.

MESA

A UMWA pamphlet on job safety describes the situation: "MESA is still a jungle of political in-fighting and back-stabbing, and too many MESA people still talk like the coal companies they used to work for."

"Critically important regulations are long overdue; ludicrously small fines are imposed and even smaller ones collected on violations that kill or maim our members; many MESA inspectors regularly fail to follow up on violations pointed out to them by our Safety Committeemen—and despite federal regulations, some of them persistently refuse even to let our people know when they're on the mine property."

A series of explosions at the Scotia mine—also owned by the Blue Diamond Coal Company that owns the Justus mine—killed twenty-six men in March 1976.

Since the federal investigator wouldn't close the Justus mine, and since they are nonunionized and don't have safety committees, the Stearns miners had no other recourse but to strike. Their central aim is to get the Justus mine under the UMWA contract.

In this case the need for the right to strike over safety conditions is vividly clear. I asked Taylor if the snifers in the Justus mine were defective.

"Defective? No. That machinery was unhooked. They cut it loose. They won't even use it."

There are unionized mines that are safer than the Justus mine. But there are also union and nonunion mines that are as dangerous or more so.



Every miner faces similar hazardous conditions day in and day out.

Mine statistics

As one of the tables with this article shows, underground mining is the most dangerous of all industrial jobs. According to the UMWA research committee, in 1974 underground coal had a record of disabling injuries over three times the national industrial average.

Surface coal mining—strip mining—used to be safer than underground mining and still was in 1974 as the table shows. But this job is getting more dangerous as the speedup drive in the coal industry accelerates. In

1975, for the first time in history, there were more fatal accidents in strip mining than underground.

Profit greed

Within the context of the energy crisis scare and the search to find ever more profitable sources of energy, the mineowners are seeking a drastic speedup of coal production.

A recent *Business Week* feature emphasized this profit greed: "For sustained profitability," *Business Week* said, "the place to look is the nonunion mines. MAPCO Inc., which one analyst expects to mine 4.5 million tons of coal this year and to double that by 1980, produces an incredible 40 tons per man per day from an underground mine in western Kentucky."

To get an idea just how "incredible" this is, the national average for coal productivity is nine tons per worker per day. They're talking about a more than 400 percent increase in production per worker.

And their model is a nonunion, underground mine in Kentucky—like the Justus mine and the Scotia mine that blew up.

The profit drive of the capitalists knows no regard for human safety. What the coal bosses want is diametrically opposed to the interest of the coal miners. It jeopardizes their very lives.

The profit statistics for Westmoreland Coal, one of the largest coal companies in the nation, dramatize this point. Between 1972 and 1975 the earnings per share of common stock in the company increased from \$.75 to \$8.82—an increase of more than 1,000 percent!

The accompanying table, taken from the UMWA's pamphlet on mine safety, shows that in 1975 Westmoreland Coal was by far the most dangerous of the big coal companies to work for. It had ten times the number of disabling injuries per hours worked than the national average for all industries.

The faster the speedup, the most unsafe work will become, the more dangerous it will be to work both underground and in the surface mines.

Grievance

The grievance procedures that are presently provided in the union contract are unsatisfactory to meet this corporate attack.

When a miner is working under hazardous conditions, what good does it do to have an arbitration procedure the average length of which at present

in coal is forty-four weeks—nearly a year?

While the company stalls, the danger to miners' lives continues. And a miner who is fired unjustly waits out that time with no pay—and no assurance that the "impartial" arbitrator will recognize the validity of the complaint.

On top of that the companies may decide to ride with the penalties. They may calculate that a given fine—and the maximum is a trivial \$3,000—is worth paying to stall on improving the mine hazard.

Against this the right to strike is necessary. The miners at a given mine, when the company violates the contract or refuses to correct a hazardous condition, must have the right to democratically decide to close the mine until the problem is corrected. And they need the right to appeal for support from other miners if necessary.

This method costs the company. It protects the individual miner who files a grievance, or the mine safety committee members who say the mine is hazardous.

For example, in 1975 a strike against Westmoreland Coal would have cost that company \$1,237,041 a day. That comes down to \$859 a minute.

It means the company would lose \$3,000—the maximum fine for a safety violation—every three and a half minutes. Every fourteen minutes it would lose the entire yearly wages of a miner it might want to fire.

That's the way to make Westmoreland Coal—and the rest of the industry—clean up their murderous mining operations.

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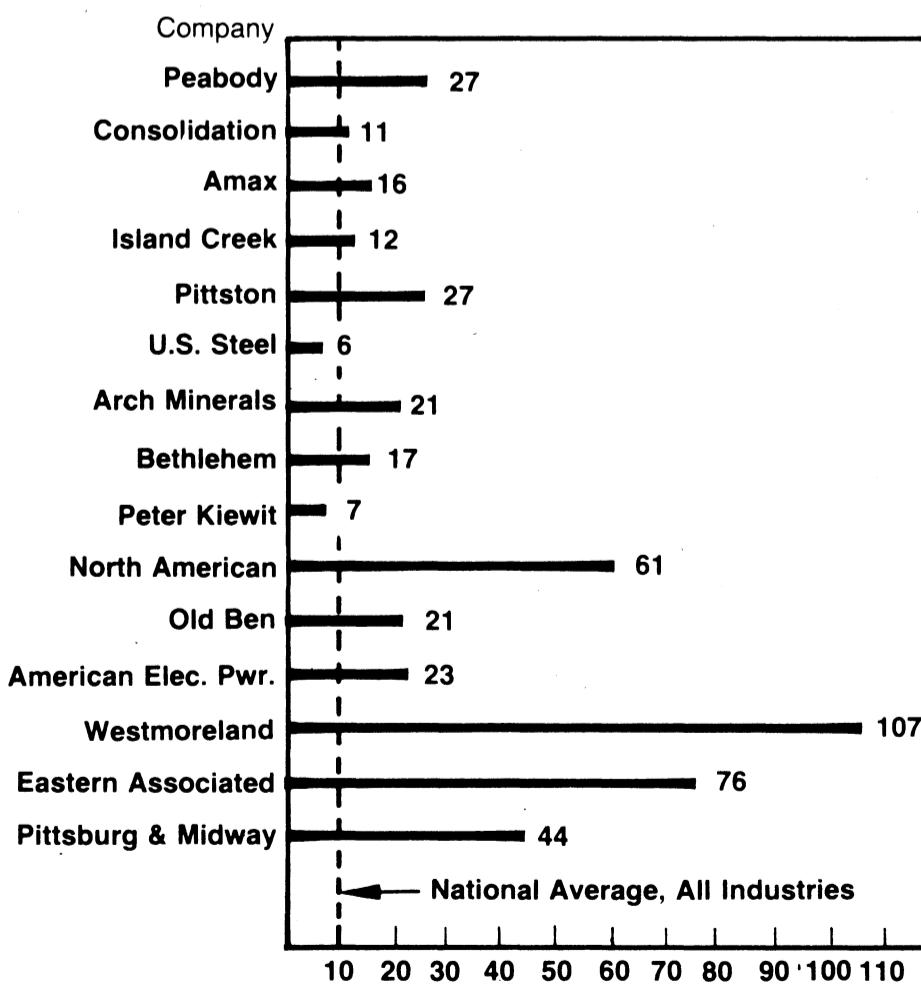
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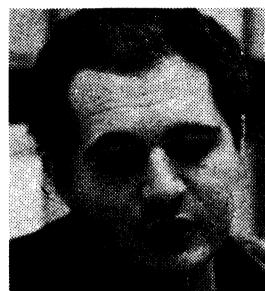
SAFETY RECORDS, 15 LARGEST COAL COMPANIES, 1975 Disabling Injuries Per Million Man-Hours Worked



UMWA Research Dept.

'Militant' interview

The following is an interview with François Ollivier, a leader of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire in France. Ollivier began his political activity at the age of fourteen when, as a high school student, he participated in the giant upsurge of workers and students that took place in May-June 1968. He joined the Trotskyist movement the following year. Today Ollivier heads up the LCR's youth work.



Militant/Diane Wang

By Peter Seidman

François Ollivier is a leader of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), the French sister party of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

He recently spoke with the *Militant* about the legislative elections that are scheduled for March 12 and 19 in France.

The LCR is campaigning in this election to win working people to the revolutionary alternative to President Giscard d'Estaing's austerity program.

"Under this program, imposed fifteen months ago by Giscard's premier, Raymond Barre, the buying power of the typical worker has fallen by an average of 3 percent," Ollivier said, citing the LCR's campaign platform. "In the public and nationalized sectors of the economy, real wages have fallen 5 percent."

"For each day since the Barre Plan began, an additional 1,200 people have been thrown out of work. That puts total unemployment at 1.6 million people."

"Meanwhile, the bosses have been reaping spectacular profits: Thomson-Brand up 29 percent; Shell-France up 120 percent; Peugeot up 105 percent; Citroen up 85 percent. In general, the largest corporations boosted their profits by about 50 percent."

Just as in the United States, Ollivier said, the government is shifting the burden of the worldwide economic crisis onto the backs of the working people.

"The French workers have shown many times that they are willing to struggle against the government's offensive. They have carried out two general strikes against the Barre Plan: one on October 7, 1976, and another on May 24, 1977.

"But the workers' militancy is held back by the misleaders of the mass workers parties in France, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party," the LCR leader stressed.

Class collaboration

"The measures advocated by the CP and SP are not made from the standpoint of defending the interests of the working class," Ollivier said.

They accept the capitalist government's austerity program and say only that workers should have to pay as little as possible.

This unwillingness of the CP and SP to lead the workers in an uncompromising struggle is shown by the reformist policies they put forward on two levels.

First, in the unions. The CP plays a leading role in the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT—General Confederation of Labor; the SP, in the Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail (CFDT—French Democratic Confederation of Labor). These are the two biggest trade-union federations in the country.

But both union leaderships concentrate on blocking the militancy of the workers' struggle against the government's austerity plan.

"For example," Ollivier said, "they both limited the general strikes against the Barre Plan to two national days of protest. They opposed starting a general movement to countermobilize against the capitalists' attacks. They have refused to centralize and coordinate the workers' response, leaving individual struggles isolated."

But the key to understanding the meaning of the CP and SP's class collaborationism is to understand the solutions they put forward to today's crisis on the *political* level, Ollivier stressed.

"If the bourgeois parties win the elections after

fifteen months of the Barre Plan, this will be a big setback," he said. "They will only be encouraged to redouble their offensive against the workers, young people, women, and immigrants."

Union of the Left

What political alternative is offered by the CP and SP?

Since 1972 these parties—along with a small capitalist party, the Left Radicals—have been in an electoral alliance called the Union of the Left.

Millions of workers in France believe the claims of the CP and the SP that the Union of the Left will hasten the coming of socialism.

But this is a cruel hoax. The Common Program of the Union of the Left is a capitalist program. The Union of the Left is designed to contain the struggle for socialism, not to advance it.

"The CP and SP have done everything they can to keep the bourgeois Left Radicals in the Union of the Left. They have continually tried to involve other bourgeois forces in this alliance. In the municipal elections in March 1977, they even succeeded in drawing some Gaullists into the Union of the Left."

"The CP and SP use the presence of these capitalists in their electoral coalition as an excuse not to struggle for the demands of the workers."

"They say, 'We have to retreat, because we don't want to lose our allies in the Union of the Left.'

"But all this really proves is that the Union of the Left only wants to administer the state for the capitalists," Ollivier explained.

"Today," he went on, "the fight to force the CP and SP misleaders to break with the bourgeoisie is a key one. This battle must include the demand that the CP and the SP break with the Left Radicals."

The LCR is campaigning for the big workers parties to put their claims to be socialist into practice.

"We say the CP and SP must form a workers government based on mobilizing the majority in a struggle for socialism," Ollivier stressed.

"But the CP and SP oppose this strategy. They tell the workers they can win their demands without breaking with the capitalists, by electing the Union of the Left to help administer the capitalist crisis."

Holding out electoral hopes for the Union of the Left, Ollivier explained, is one of the main ways the CP and SP have justified their betrayals of the militant struggles against the Barre Plan that the workers have begun. "Let's not do anything to jeopardize an electoral victory for the Union of the Left that would really help us," they'd say.

Breakup of Union of the Left

In September, however, the Union of the Left broke up. The disagreements surfaced this summer during discussions begun to update the Common Program, which hadn't been revised since it was first signed in 1972.

The official cause of the breakup was a dispute between the CP and SP over whether the subsidiaries of nationalized capitalist groups in France should also be nationalized.

What reasons did the CP and SP give for the dissolution of an alliance that had been so key to their putting over their class-collaborationist line—and what were the real reasons?

"The CP says these talks broke down for two main reasons," Ollivier explained. "First, on the question of nationalizing some big industries. The SP proposed that the revised Common Program call for nationalizing 225 companies. The CP called for 729 nationalizations."

"Each party claims their figure will best enable the Union of the Left government to implement its basic program."

"But this argument is fallacious. It has nothing to do with a real fight over how to defend working people from the bosses' offensive."

"Even the greater number of nationalizations the CP says it's for would only affect 1 percent of the national economy," Ollivier said. "It wouldn't really challenge the capitalist system."

"The CP also claims that since the Common Program was first signed five years ago the SP has made a turn to the right."

"That's why, the CP argues, the SP won't agree to the CP's supposedly more radical proposals for updating the Union of the Left's program."

"For its part," Ollivier went on, "the SP says the CP walked out of the Union of the Left because it doesn't want to take power today."

Moscow?

"Some SP leaders echo capitalist newspapers like *Le Monde* that claim the CP is only following the

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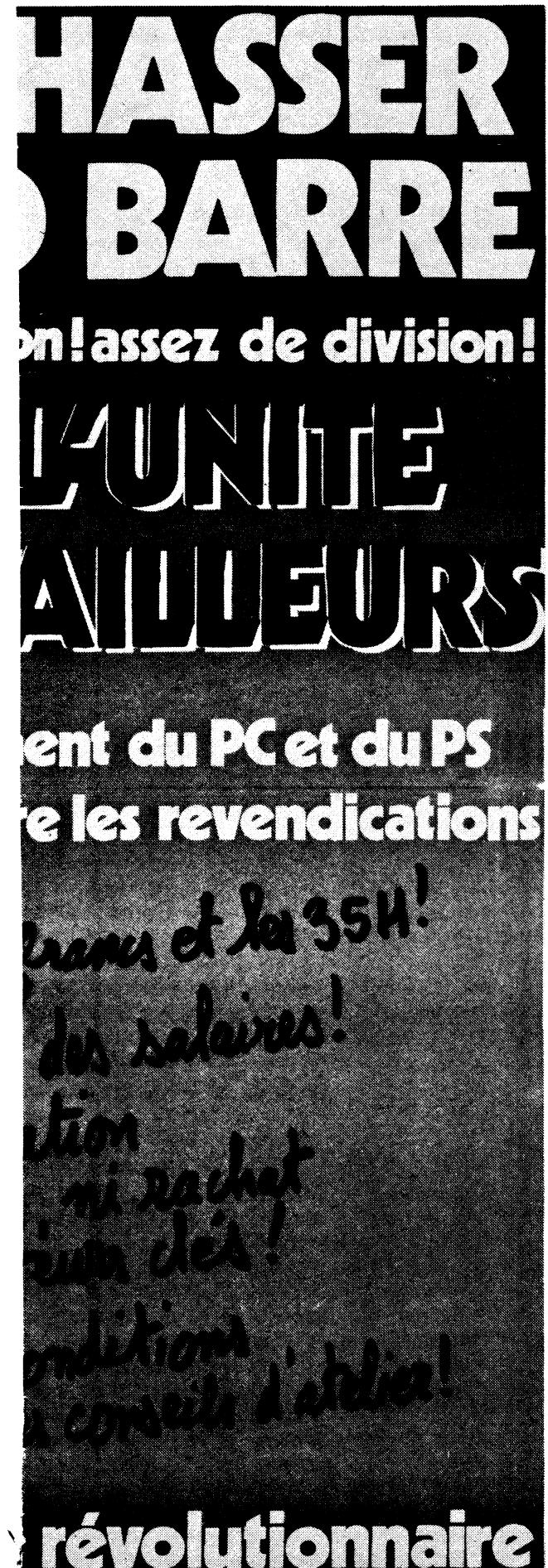
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IL FAUT
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Echelle mobile
Nationale
Journal indemnité
de travail à la main
Contrat de deux ans
Le travail à la main
Ligue communiste

Rinching ions: evolutionary alternative for people



orders of Moscow in this, that the Kremlin prefers Giscard to remain in office."

Was the CP's role in the breakup of the Union of the Left engineered in Moscow?

"I don't think so," Ollivier said. "The French CP has been undergoing an evolution over several years during which it has taken a series of positions against those of Moscow—on events in East Europe, for example."

"This evolution has been under the pressure of radicalizing workers in France, who are growing increasingly disgusted with Moscow's violations of democratic rights in East Europe and the USSR, not because of pressure from Moscow," Ollivier argued.

"Besides, while the SP attacks the CP for not wanting to take over the government—claiming this may be a Moscow plot to retain Giscard in power—it forgets to mention its own promise to retain Giscard as president, *even if the SP won a majority in the new National Assembly!*"

"So you don't need to look to Moscow to explain the class-collaborationist line."

Since both parties follow such a line, Ollivier explained, there are elements of truth in the demagogic charges and countercharges that fly back and forth between them. But at bottom these are a cover-up for the refusal of both parties to fight for socialism.

"If the CP and SP won a majority, this would be a tremendous stimulus for the development of workers' struggles," Ollivier said. "The masses would see that victory as a victory for themselves."

"The CP knows that if it is in the government carrying out a 'left austerity' policy, it will soon collide with the hopes of the masses. The CP knows its working-class followers will not understand or accept what it's doing."

This explains another issue in the breakup of the Union of the Left. The CP was demanding guarantees from the SP on the role it would play in any Union of the Left government.

Given the political risks the CP would be taking in such a situation, "it wants to be able to credibly advise its followers that it has enough ministers in the government to influence things for the better, if the workers will only be patient and not rock the boat."

The CP also fears carrying out a governmental austerity plan while there are currents developing that can challenge its influence in the working class.

The CP's demagogic argument with the SP over updating the Common Program, for example, is couched in "leftist" rhetoric aimed at undercutting the SP's growing influence among the workers. The CP also wants to undercut the influence of groups to its left, such as the LCR.

Sectarian danger

The CP has now carried its anti-SP demagogic so far that it announced at its January 7-8 national conference that it will refuse to step down in favor of the SP in the election runoffs in those districts where SP candidates have the best chance to win.

In France, elections are held in two rounds. All the parties present their candidates in the first round. If no candidate wins an absolute majority, a runoff election is held.

It has been the tradition in the workers movement to unite in the second round behind the workers party that did best in the first round in order to defeat the candidates of the employing class.

By departing from this tradition, the CP increases the danger that the workers' vote will be split and the bourgeois parties could win.

The LCR is campaigning strongly against this sectarian policy—urging workers to demand that the CP step down where necessary to ensure a victory for the SP.

LCR campaign

What is the LCR doing to present the revolutionary alternative in this election?

"The LCR is running its own candidates for the National Assembly in the first round," Ollivier said.

There are three main themes in the LCR campaign, he explained. First is the idea that "workers need to unite in defense of our wages, our jobs, our rights."

"To fight unemployment we need a sliding scale of hours. We can create enough jobs for everyone who wants one by forcing the bosses to reduce the workweek with no cut in pay."

"To fight inflation we need to peg wages so they automatically increase with the cost of living, as determined by the workers themselves."

"We need to fight for workers' control over conditions on the job."

"We need to fight to defend our democratic rights, the rights of women and of young people now under attack. The rights of soldiers."

"We need to fight in defense of the immigrant workers."

Ollivier stressed another aspect of the LCR's election program he thought was becoming increasingly urgent.

"Ever since the French government's intervention in Zaïre last April, it is clear that France's role in the 'holy alliance' of imperialism is to intervene in Africa."

Ollivier sharply denounced France's role in the Sahara. "For several months now French troops have been directly involved—for the first time since the Algerian war—intervening against the Polisario Front and against the self-determination struggle of the Saharan people."

"We also denounce the government's role in all the overseas territories and departments exploited by French imperialism." In particular, Ollivier said, "we are carrying out solidarity campaigns with our comrades of the Group Révolution Socialiste (GRS—Socialist Revolution Group, Antilles section of the Fourth International)."

Workers government

"The second key theme in our campaign is this: the way to fight for these demands is to fight to get rid of the Giscard-Barre government, the capitalist government that attacks our standard of living and our rights," Ollivier said.

"Only a government of the workers, a socialist government, offers a long run solution to the crisis of capitalism."

"We need to demand that the big workers parties, the CP and SP, break with the Left Radicals, break with Giscard, and fight for the demands of the workers."

The third theme, Ollivier explained, has to do with how working people can struggle successfully to win both their immediate demands and their long-range goals. This demands "workers' unity against bourgeois power," Ollivier said. "Not a unity with capitalist forces, as the CP and SP put forward with their Union of the Left strategy. But a unity based on class struggle along the lines of the LCR's platform in this campaign."

"That's why we are urging a vote for the CP and the SP alone, in the second round," Ollivier explained. "There is no alternative but for these parties to stand down in favor of whichever got the biggest first-round vote."

"But to vote for the CP and SP on the second round," Ollivier stressed, "in no way means investing any confidence in them or handing them a blank check: Least of all does it mean approving their program."

"Rather, this is a way to demand that these parties, which say they stand in defense of the workers' interests, carry out their claims through struggle."

"It's in that sense only," Ollivier said, "that the LCR urges the workers to vote for the CP and the SP in the second round."

"We call for a massive vote for these parties in order not to give them any pretext to avoid their responsibility." They must be confronted with an overwhelming expression of working-class opinion urging them to take the power.

Only through this experience can the immense majority of workers be convinced that the parties they now believe in do not really want socialism, Ollivier explained.

"To get out our ideas," he said, "the LCR will be running 150 candidates. About one-half the candidates will be women. Others will be soldiers and young people, so that we can emphasize our support for the demands raised by these sectors."

The LCR has reached a political agreement with two other groups that say they're to the left of the CP and SP to divide up the different districts so that there will only be one such candidate in each electoral district.

These are the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT—Communist Workers Organization), which will run fifty candidates, and the Comités Communistes pour l'Autogestion (CCA—Communist Committees for Self-Management), which will run fifteen.

"The LCR itself plans to organize meetings around its platform in several hundred cities," Ollivier concluded. "We will build support committees for our candidates. And we plan to increase the number of pages in our daily paper *Rouge* to sixteen and increase its press run during the campaign."

Back NAACP, ACLU criticisms

L.A. Chicanos rip school board on segregation

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Chicano leaders here have joined the American Civil Liberties Union and NAACP in labeling the most recent school board desegregation plan as "constitutionally inadequate."

The plan is the second proposal to come from the Los Angeles School Board in a year. It is now in hearings in Superior Judge Paul Egly's court.

The proposal, which has received a temporary implementation order from Egly, limits desegregation to grades four through eight.

Of the 444,000 students currently in segregated schools, 334,000 will be

completely untouched by the plan. Many of the most heavily segregated schools within grades four through eight are also excluded from the plan, and no provision is made to extend the plan in the future.

Opposition by Chicano leaders crystallized around a report prepared by the Chicano Leadership Coalition. The report charges that Chicanos, who compose the largest single ethnic bloc in the school system—35 percent—are systematically receiving an education inferior to whites.

The report points to reading test scores that in the predominantly Chicano East Los Angeles average 33 percent, compared with a national

average of 50 percent and an average of 68 percent in the heavily white West San Fernando Valley.

The report also documented discriminatory hiring practices—only 5.8 percent of full-time teachers are Latino.

The school district drew the heaviest criticism for failing to provide adequate bilingual education. The report points out that the school board, which claims school desegregation is impractical because of high costs, lost \$24 million in federal aid for desegregation because it had failed to provide bilingual education for those who need it.

In 1967-77 the district provided bilingual education to only 26,169 students, and inadequate "English as a Second Language" to another 39,119. This left more than half of the partial- and non-English-speaking students completely untouched.

The coalition recommended that a desegregation order be approved with a comprehensive budget to carry out bilingual education, and that a part of the order include recruiting and hiring Hispanic teachers.

Signing the statement were U.S. Rep. Edward Roybal and state assembly members Richard Alatorre, Art Torres, Peter Chacón, and Joseph Montoya. Others included: University of California Regent Vilma Martínez, State College Trustee Juan Gómez-Quiñones, and Los Angeles Deputy Mayor Grace Davis.

Racists plan antibusing ballot

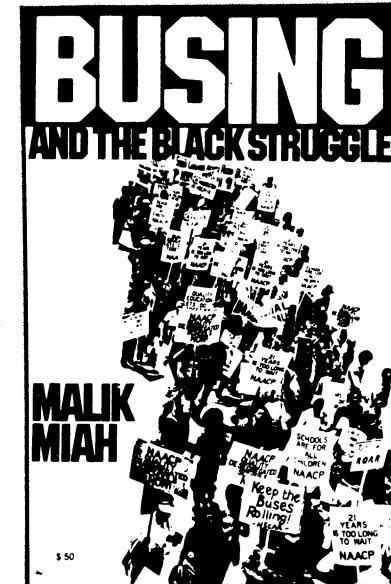
LOS ANGELES—As desegregation hearings slowly proceed through another round of courtroom hearings, antibusing forces are launching an initiative to ban busing for purposes of desegregation.

Democratic State Sen. Alan Robbins is sponsoring the petition to place a constitutional amendment against busing on the fall ballot. He

says he has 3,000 to 5,000 volunteers lined up to get the required 499,846 signatures by the May 4 deadline.

Robbins plans to ask Judge Paul Egly to hold up even minimal desegregation in Los Angeles until after the election. A similar bill introduced by Robbins in the State Assembly was killed January 19 in committee.

—J.Q.



Busing and the Black struggle

By Malik Miah
30 pp., 50 cents

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Judge dismisses Skyhorse-Mohawk juror

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—On January 24, without so much as consulting defense attorneys Leonard Weinglass and Franklin Glenn, Judge Floyd Dodson summarily dismissed one of the jurors who has been hearing the trial of

American Indian leaders Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk since last June.

Dodson cited "flagrant sleeping" as the reason. Judy Martínez, a spokesperson for the defense, pointed out that Dodson—without consulting either de-

fense or prosecution—had kept a private record of when the juror was, to his mind, "without alertness or any period of being aware." Defense lawyers had no opportunity to question the juror or challenge the judge's "record."

Prosecutor Louis Samonsky backed up the judge by saying he, too, had noticed the juror dozing.

Dodson also took the extraordinary step of prohibiting the dismissed juror from speaking about the case to "any living human being," and banning him from the courtroom.

The true explanation for the dismissal seems to lie with Dodson's opinion that the juror was too sympathetic to the defendants. On a previous occasion the juror's wife, who wanted him excused from the marathon trial, told the judge that her husband had discussed the case with another juror and said that he felt Skyhorse and Mohawk were innocent.

Both jurors told the judge that they had not discussed the case and felt competent to reach a fair verdict.

But the history of the trial has been a history of intervention by Dodson designed to prejudice the jury against Skyhorse and Mohawk.

Two months ago Dodson revoked the right of the defendants to act as their own counsel, a decision later overturned by the state supreme court. Earlier he refused to accept a plea bargain that both defense and prosecution had agreed to.

Now, after nearly eight months of prosecution testimony, fifty-three witnesses, and more than 17,000 pages of transcript, the state rested its case on January 24.

The state's star witness was Marvin Redshirt, who claimed he had seen Skyhorse and Mohawk fatally stab cabdriver George Aird on October 10, 1974.

Under cross-examination, Redshirt admitted that he wasn't sure what had happened that night. And other prosecution witnesses have been equally unconvincing.

But while the judge was quick to pounce on a juror for supposedly catching a few winks, he failed entirely to notice that Redshirt was drunk "to the point of coma" during his testimony. It was only after the defense attorneys insisted on an alcohol test that Redshirt was removed from the stand to be sobered up.



PAUL SKYHORSE (left), & RICHARD MOHAWK

Miami pickets hit U.S. rights hypocrisy

By Stuart Rogers

MIAMI—Some 100 people picketed the Second Caribbean Conference on Trade, Investment and Development here January 19 to protest the Carter administration's hypocrisy on human rights.

The conference was organized by the U.S. State Department and the Florida Department of Commerce. About 600 people—mostly government officials, bankers, and businessmen—attended. Among the most notable personalities were Terence Todman, Carter's assistant secretary of state for Latin America; President Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica; President Joaquin Balaguer of the Dominican Republic; and Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló of Puerto Rico.

The picket was sponsored by the

Human Rights for Haitian Refugees Coalition, Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD—Dominican Revolutionary Party), Socialist Workers Party, National Council of Churches, and the American Friends Service Committee. Chants included "No support to Duvalier!" "No support to Balaguer!" and "Asylum yes, deportation no!"

Prior to the demonstration, the U.S. government went on a systematic campaign to scare people away from it. Rumors were spread in the Haitian and Dominican communities about right-wing counterdemonstrations and bombings at the conference. U.S. Secret Service agents visited and harassed organizers of the demonstration, claiming they were investigating

a bomb threat.

The Miami picket line came in the wake of renewed protests inside Haiti. On Christmas Eve, thousands of Haitians took to the streets in the city of Gonaives, breaking into warehouses to get food. Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, president for life, responded by sending truckloads of armed soldiers and imposing a news blackout.

Because of brutal repression by the Duvalier regime, thousands of Haitians have fled their country, many of them seeking political asylum in the United States. There are 2,700 such refugees in south Florida alone. But despite the U.S. government's human rights rhetoric, it has failed to grant the refugees asylum, threatening to deliver them to Duvalier.

Real issue is free speech

New literature exposes CAIFI 6 frame-up

By José G. Pérez

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) has issued several pieces of literature explaining the facts behind the arrest of six of its members—including two of its national officers—at Jersey City State College January 19.

The literature includes a petition demanding that the administration drop the serious charges against the six; a sample protest letter to college President William Maxwell; and a brochure titled, "Iranian dissidents denied free speech on U.S. campus—the case of CAIFI six."

The six CAIFI members had gone to the Jersey City, New Jersey, college January 19 to get a permit to set up a literature table on campus. They had been told they had to obtain such permits in person.

Two CAIFI representatives were granted the permit, but then these two and the four others were arrested on trumped-up charges of disrupting "normal academic procedures of the college."

If convicted, each of the CAIFI supporters faces a maximum penalty of three years imprisonment and \$1,000 fine.

The sample letter to President Maxwell says, "The situation is especially dangerous because the six CAIFI sup-

porters are Iranian nationals who have spoken out against the inhumane practices of the Shah's regime. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service could use the charges as a pretext for deporting these human rights activists to Iran, where they will face imprisonment, torture, and possibly execution."

The six are: Kateh Vafadari Zahraie, CAIFI assistant national secretary; Fariborz Khasha, CAIFI national field secretary; Faranak Colon, president of the CAIFI chapter at New York University; and Kianoosh Mahdavi, Massoud Nayeri, and Siamak Zahraie, all of whom have been active in CAIFI since it was founded in 1973.

The brochure points out that the charges constitute "an attack on the basic constitutional freedoms of everyone—freedom of speech, freedom of political association, freedom to hear all points of view without censorship."

CAIFI is a broadly sponsored human rights organization that publicizes repression in Iran. CAIFI endorsers include author Simone de Beauvoir; former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark; U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums; Irish activist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; former U.S. Sen. Eugene McCarthy; Soviet dissident Roy Medvedev; and many others.

You can help



Militant: José Pérez

The CAIFI Six (clockwise from left): Kateh Vafadari Zahraie, Siamak Zahraie, Massoud Nayeri, Kianoosh Mahdavi, Fariborz Khasha, Faranak Colon.

Help defend the CAIFI Six by:

- Endorsing the defense effort;
- Sponsoring a meeting for a CAIFI representative;
- Circulating defense petitions and brochures;
- Making a contribution to help defray costs of publicity.

Protest messages demanding that charges be dropped should be sent to President William Maxwell, Jersey City State College, 2039 Kennedy Boulevard, Jersey City, New Jersey 07305.

Copies of protest messages, endorsements, and contributions should be sent to: CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Phone (212) 673-6390.

Iranian activists assaulted at U. of Houston

By Jeff Elliot

HOUSTON—More than forty professors and student leaders at the University of Houston here have joined an effort to stop the use of violence as a means of settling differences within the Iranian student movement.

The effort was initiated by the Houston chapter of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) after four of its members were assaulted January 23.

The four had been attending a public "Conference on Iran" sponsored by the Iranian Students Association, one of six Iranian student groups on the campus.

When they left the meeting, the CAIFI members were followed by five

individuals shouting slanders about both the Iranian Writers Association (a well-known dissident group in Iran) and CAIFI, labeling them "tools of SAVAK." The SAVAK is Iran's political police.

Earlier in the meeting one of the CAIFI members had spoken in support of recent protests carried out by the writers group in Iran.

The CAIFI members tried to get away from the hecklers to avoid a confrontation, but one of the harassers seized a CAIFI member and beat him. After shouting some more insults, the assailants fled.

The following day CAIFI responded with a "Statement Against Violence." After recounting the incident, the

statement said that "such undemocratic actions represent an infringement of the rights of all and are impermissible."

"Not only do such acts intimidate people from expressing their ideas freely, they also deny others the right to hear those ideas."

Signers of the statement include professors Donald Quataert, Arturo Rosales, Bailey Stone and Alan Stone; Pablo Rodríguez, Ethnic Affairs Department; Audie Higareda, Concilio de Organizaciones Chicanas; Vanessa Johnson, Black Student Union; Hussein Urooj, International Student Organization; Glen Jubran and Issa Khalaf, Organization of Arab Students; Steve Davis, Democratic Social-

ist Organizing Committee; Rob Roper, Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

In addition, three candidates for UH Student Association president—David Patronella, Pat Powers and Vic Quintanilla—have endorsed the statement.

The February 1 *Daily Cougar*, the campus paper, printed an editorial under the headline "Resolution is good; too bad it's needed."

"The 'Statement against violence' . . . reflects admirable principles which are hard to fault," the editorial said. "The *Daily Cougar* certainly endorses it, with great regret that such endorsements must even be requested."

Meeting protests Nazi activities in Detroit

By Martha Dowling

DETROIT—More than 100 people attended a meeting here January 30 at Wayne State University to protest Nazi activities in Detroit. Sponsored by the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism (DSCAR), the gathering was a response to the opening



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

DSCAR's Rohima Miah: urges campaign of protests against Nazis and other racists.

December 17 of a headquarters in Detroit's southwest side by the National Socialist Movement.

Parading as a bookstore, the office provides these racist terrorists with an organizing center in a racially mixed working-class community. The goals of the operation are indicated by the leaflets distributed by the Nazis. Emblazoned with slogans like "Niggers Beware," they call for "political terror" and "armed struggle" against Blacks and Jews.

The headquarters has drawn opposition from a wide range of Black, labor, Jewish, and liberal organizations in the Detroit area. Several demonstrations have been held there demanding that the Nazis get out of Detroit. The Nazi office has been under heavy police protection.

Addressing the DSCAR meeting were Dorothy Hughes of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU); Dr. Jesse Goodwin of the NAACP; Paul Boatin, head of the anti-Nazi committee established by Local 600 of the United Auto Workers; Alice Jennings, co-coordinator of the Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision; Rev. Ted Richmond of the Metropolitan Community Church; Ken Pyle of

the Association of Black Students; Sol Lachman of the Detroit Jewish Workshop; Howard Simon of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Rohima Miah of DSCAR.

Hughes reported that the CBTU has adopted a resolution opposing "the presence of the Nazis and their racist ideology." She said it plans to work with unions and community groups in Detroit in coordinated anti-Nazi activities.

Boatin announced that Local 600 was planning a meeting February 6 where unions, church leaders, and other groups could discuss what to do next.

Speaking for the ACLU, Simon said he supported demonstrations aimed at repulsing the Nazis, but warned against calling on the government to shut down the Nazi office. He argued that this course would endanger civil liberties for anti-Nazis as well.

Many speakers linked the new state of ultrarightist activist in Detroit to the national drive to roll back the gains made by the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Goodwin read a resolution adopted by the Detroit NAACP that noted the new activity by racist hate groups in many parts of the

country. He blamed the media for giving "attention and implied credibility" to these outfits, while ignoring murders and other crimes against Blacks committed by them.

Hughes, Jennings, and Miah emphasized the role of the *Bakke* decision as an expression of the racist drive. Jennings pointed to activities in support of affirmative action being held this winter and spring as examples of the kind of counter-mobilization that can defeat the racists.

"This meeting represents the beginning of our campaign of education and protest against the Nazis and other racist forces," DSCAR's Miah declared. "It is through actions such as these that we draw in the great majority—Blacks, women, and working people—in massive opposition to the racists."

DETROIT, February 6—A meeting initiated by Local 600 of the United Auto Workers to consider future anti-Nazi activities drew more than 250 trade unionists and community representatives. A steering committee was established to consider specific activities.



The *Battle of Chile*. Directed by Patricio Guzman. Produced by the Equipo Gercer Año with the collaboration of the Cuban Film Institute and Chris Marker. In Spanish with English subtitles. A Tricontinental Film Center Release.

The *Battle of Chile* was filmed under semiclandestine conditions during the last ten months of the Allende government. It is a film of great political interest, as well as serious political weaknesses.

It presents a view of Chile's political turmoil in the days leading up to the Washington-backed, right-wing coup that overthrew the Popular Unity government in September 1973, beginning a reign of terror against the workers, peasants, and all dissenters.

Film

The film consists entirely of documentary footage recorded by a group of courageous young filmmakers sympathetic to Allende.

The material is presented in a dramatically realistic way, succeeding as few other films have in providing a detailed portrait of a society in crisis.

It is one thing to read about how rightist gangs like "Patria y Libertad" were sponsored by the Chilean capitalists to supplement their conventional means of repression.

It is something else again to actually see these thugs in formation, with rows of stylized spider symbols hanging from their flagpoles, or the horrifying scene where a Chilean army officer murders a cameraperson as the victim films the crime.

The *Battle of Chile* begins with the March 4 legislative elections. The Allende government's electoral standing was relatively strengthened—but in the context of increasing social polarization.

Rightists—shown earlier in the film prematurely celebrating their anticipated electoral victory—are clearly disappointed by the outcome of the polling.

As a result of these elections, the narrator informs us, the bourgeoisie abandoned a parliamentary strategy and took its campaign to overthrow the Allende government out of the voting booth and into the streets.

There follows a relentless campaign of economic sabotage and political subversion, carried out in collaboration with Washington and other imperialist governments.

We see the Allende government under siege, its legislation blocked, its ministers impeached by a hostile legislature.

We see long lines of workers waiting for goods that must be rationed as a result of hoarding by speculators.

We see marches by middle-class housewives blaming the government for the shortages.

But we do not see how the Communist and Socialist parties, the two mass parties of the workers and peasants in Chile, blocked the only road out of this political and social crisis—the road of socialist revolution.

Battle of Chile doesn't show CP misleaders arguing (as they did) that "this is not the time" to struggle for a socialist solution to the crisis. That, they argued, would risk "losing the support of the middle class" for the Stalinists' and Social Democrats' procapitalist electoral alliance, the Popular Unity.

There is one scene, in the second half of this lengthy, two-part film, where a worker denounces with compelling eloquence the CP-dominated trade-union bureaucracy and the capitalist government.

A trade-union bureaucrat is pleading that factory takeovers will jeopardize international financing

arrangements. The worker responds, insisting on the right of the workers to run not only the factories, but the government.

There were thousands of similar confrontations during the critical months before the coup. Unfortunately, none of the others have been included in the film.

Despite director Patricio Guzman's claim to "represent all points of view within the left" in *Battle of Chile*, the differences that existed over the class-collaborationist strategy of the CP and SP can only be guessed at from scenes where various contingents chant different slogans in demonstrations. For the uninitiated, the result is simply confusing.

This uncritical political stance toward the Popular Unity government is undoubtedly the *Battle of Chile's* weakest aspect.

The film is subtitled, "The Struggle of a People Without Arms." Guzman gave his views on the Chilean experience in an interview in *Socialist Revolution* magazine last fall. It was "a sort of twentieth-century Paris Commune," he said.

Noting classics by Lenin and Marx, Guzman said, "There were key ideas from *State and Revolution* and *The Civil War in France*, for example, which the Chilean people were compelled to confront on a very practical level."

Indeed there were. But these ideas go beyond the Chilean workers' lack of arms. They go to the workers' lack of a revolutionary party that would lead—politically arm them—in the fight for socialism.

Guzman's film does little to avert what would be a greater tragedy than even the defeat in Chile itself: the failure of the international working class movement to learn the lessons of this defeat.

A good place to begin reading about those lessons is *Disaster in Chile: Allende's Strategy and Why it Failed* (edited by Les Evans, Pathfinder Press, New York, \$4.45).

Then go see *Battle of Chile*.

* * *

NOTE: Most members of the film crew succeeded in escaping Chile after the coup. They regrouped in Cuba, where the film was edited. But two did not escape. Cameraperson Jorge Muller and actress Carmen Bueno, who assisted in the production, were kidnapped by agents of the Chilean secret police on November 29, 1974.

They have not been heard from since, although they have been reported seen at the notorious Tres Alamos concentration camp outside Santiago.

The Emergency Committee to Defend Latin American Filmmakers is campaigning to win the release of Muller and Bueno, as well as numerous other filmmakers imprisoned in Latin America. Their address is 339 Lafayette Street, New York, New York 10012.

—Rich Robohm

'Word is Out'

Word is Out. Produced by the Mariposa Film Group. Post Office Box 77043, San Francisco, California 94107.

Word is Out is a film about gay liberation, perhaps the most insightful work yet on the subject of homosexuality.

Subtitled, "Stories of Some of Our Lives," this color documentary consists of 26 interviews with lesbians and gay men selected from some 200 interviews taken from coast to coast over the past five years.

The interviews are presented in three sections: "Early years," "Growing up," and "Where do we go from here?"

"Early years [of the movement]" tells of the antigay discrimination and

ridicule that has kept millions of human beings stifled and anguished.

"Growing up" speaks with immediacy to lesbians and gay men, explaining that guilt is not an inherent trait of being gay.

The film speaks with urgency to everyone, as lesbians and gay men recall how they came to terms with their sexuality and their rejection of stereotypical role models—the same role models that have affected the lives of many people, both gay and nongay. In the brief final section—"Where do we go from here?"—those interviewed speak about their fears of the discrimination they continue to face.

The film ends on a high point—clips from the June 26, 1977, Gay Pride Parade in San Francisco, where more than a quarter of a million people demonstrated for gay rights.

Peter Adair, one of the film's creators, hopes *Word is Out* will "change people's minds about a lot of things." And the film is likely to open the eyes

and minds of many to the issue of gay rights.

A diversity of gay experiences is presented. Among the men are a Black student athlete from Princeton, a New York corporate executive, an Asian youth, and a San Francisco drag queen.

Among the women, a Black lesbian feminist teacher, and a veterinarian.

Gay parents are shown with their children. One couple, divorced women with six children between them, talks about how one of the women's husband used the courts to take her children from her.

Word is Out was made by the Mariposa Film Group, a San Francisco collective. They began the project when the gay liberation movement was in its infancy. During the course of their work, they screened the film many times to get feedback. The collective includes Nancy Adair, Peter Adair, Robert Epstein, Lucy Massie Phenix, Andrew Brown, and Veronica Selver.

Word is Out had its world premier in San Francisco at a benefit cosponsored by the Mariposa Film Group, the Coalition for Human Rights, and Save Our Human Rights. The showing was introduced by folk singer Holly Near. Proceeds went to several organizations and educational actions against California's antigay Briggs Initiative.

Certainly the stakes in the battle for gay rights are high. Fear and guilt still keep many gays "in the closet."

"If there was one problem connected with being a lesbian it was the loneliness—the fact that I didn't know anyone like me," seventy-seven-year-old poet Elsa Gidlow states sadly in *Word is Out*.

But the visibility and strength of the gay movement has given tens of thousands of people the courage and self-confidence to live more open lives and to stand up and fight. The fact that this film was made and will be distributed nationwide is proof of that.

—Nancy Elnor

Despite election promises

Indian regime keeps restrictions on democratic rights

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—The ruling Janata Party unseated the Congress Party in the March 1977 elections by riding a mounting wave of political anger at Indira Gandhi's imposition of a state of emergency and her attacks on democratic and trade-union rights.

In its election manifesto, the Janata Party had promised that it would unconditionally release all political prisoners, repeal the draconian Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) and the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act, amend the constitution to prohibit future regimes from declaring such an emergency, restore the right of workers to receive bonus payments as a form of deferred wage, and make other concessions.

The defeat of the Congress Party did result in the restoration of some bourgeois-democratic rights. But most of the tendencies in the Indian working-class movement failed to project an independent working-class alternative to the abstract slogan of democracy versus dictatorship that was raised in the elections.

The only exceptions were the Trotskyists of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, whose candidate won 3,000 votes on such a program, and a splinter group from the Revolutionary Socialist Party in Uttar Pradesh.

The two major Stalinist tendencies in the workers movement—the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI[M])—projected class-collaborationist programs. While the CPI supported Gandhi's Congress Party to the hilt, the CPI(M) considered (and still regards) the bourgeois Janata Party as a bastion of antiauthoritarianism.

The CPI(M) claims that all antidemocratic measures flowed from Gandhi and her party and thus justifies its support to the Janata Party on those grounds. It thereby fails to expose the roots of authoritarianism in the capitalist system itself. In practice, it failed to demand the scrapping of the constitutional provisions that make the imposition of a state of emergency possible.

The CPI(M) now finds itself in a difficult position, at a time when the Janata Party regime has begun to retreat on some of its election promises. The only alternative left to it is to goad, cajole, and remind the Janata Party of its pledges and plead with it to keep them.

On the question of the release of political prisoners, the Janata rulers had already begun to prevaricate as

early as May 1977. At that time, Home Minister Charan Singh, in direct contradiction with his party's promises, sought to lay down conditions for the release of prisoners. In August he claimed that all detainees under MISA had been released, after the Delhi unit of the Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights group handed him a list of 700 names of political prisoners still behind bars. The committee, however, noted that the list was only preliminary.

Moreover, Singh's claim ignored the cases of the still larger number of non-MISA political prisoners who were either being held under pretrial detention or who had already been convicted. There are also many political prisoners who have been released on bail, but still have charges pending against them. They have to present themselves at police stations and before the courts at frequent intervals.

Charan Singh claims helplessness on the grounds that decisions can only be made by state governments. But most of the state governments are run by his own party. And some laws, like Section 434 of the amended Criminal Procedure Code, allow the federal government to intervene in cases where death sentences have been imposed. Yet a death sentence still hangs over Molina Dhak, a young woman imprisoned in West Bengal, who is alleged to be a member of the Maoist Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Ashim Chatterjee, another CPI(M) leader, is still facing charges in Bihar.

The CPI(M) itself has a sorry record on the release of political prisoners. It dominates the popular-front government in West Bengal. Its leader in the



DESAI: Hopes to discredit Gandhi while preserving authoritarian rule

state, Jyoti Basu, is both chief minister and home minister. Yet it has refused to withdraw the cases against several political activists, using the flimsiest of legal pretexts. The case of Ananta Singh is one such instance. However, in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh (where it is not in the government), the CPI(M) has participated in struggles for the release of political prisoners. Its policy on this issue is thus opportunist.

Meanwhile, the government of Madhya Pradesh, run by the Janata Party, and that of Jammu and Kashmir, run by Sheikh Abdullah, have enacted MISA-type laws vesting them with arbitrary powers to curtail democratic rights in those states. This caused a considerable uproar both inside and outside of Parliament. But the Janata regime has refused to do anything to persuade them to withdraw the measures.

Not only that, but Prime Minister Morarji Desai has lately reminded the country that some sort of preventive

detention measure will still be around after MISA disappears.

Preventive detention is a legacy of British imperialism and in general it empowers the executive to detain any person without trial. The powers of the courts are very limited and generally confined to seeing that proper legal procedure is followed during arrests. The Congress Party had fought against these measures during the independence struggle. But in 1950 preventive detention was given a prominent place in the constitution itself, and in the very chapter on Fundamental Rights.

The Gandhi regime passed the notorious 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act in 1976 to legitimize her dictatorial rule, at a time when major opposition leaders and members of Parliament, as well as thousands of political prisoners, were rotting in her jails and when complete censorship muzzled all expressions of thought and dissent.

This amendment gave blanket powers to the regime to declare any group, political party, or person as "antinational," defining the word very broadly. It barred the courts from assisting any such groups or individuals. It trampled under foot the autonomy of state governments, empowering the federal government to send its armed forces in against a state's wishes. It likewise provided for an indefinite continuance of the emergency.

In its election manifesto, the Janata Party promised that it would immediately scrap his law. Now it is stalling. It says that the Congress Party has a majority in the Rajya Sabha (upper house of Parliament) and that any bill to repeal it is likely to be defeated there. Hence it does not want to propose its wholesale scrapping. At the same time, it has found some "good" provisions in the law that it says it would retain.

Continued on next page

Desai proposes new 'preventive detention' law

The Janata Party regime, in face of considerable opposition from other parties, introduced a controversial bill into the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) December 23. It calls for the repeal of the draconian Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), but at the same time seeks to incorporate a new section on preventive detention into the Criminal Procedure Code.

If passed, the bill would empower the regime to detain anyone with a view to preventing him or her from acting in any manner deemed prejudicial to the defence and security of India, the maintenance of supplies

and services essential to the community, or the maintenance of "public order."

Under the bill, such persons could be detained without trial for an extendable one-year period, with no right to appeal to the courts. The only right provided is that the prisoner must be given the grounds for his or her detention within five days of the arrest.

Thus, in essence, this new measure retains all the obnoxious features of the repressive MISA, which was used extensively under Indira Gandhi's state of emergency.

..India

Continued from preceding page

After its crushing defeat in the general elections, the Congress Party was initially inclined to favorably consider the repeal of the amendment as a whole. But in light of the Janata Party's hesitations, it has shifted and told the regime that it would now consider specific proposals and decide whether to veto them in the Rajya Sabha or not.

The Janata Party, instead of introducing a bill for the amendment's repeal and challenging the Congress Party to veto it, thus further exposing the Congress Party before the people, has chosen instead to enter a dialogue with it as to which provisions should be retained and which scrapped.

So a process of bipartisan accommodation on this vital question has begun. Two such meetings have already taken place between ministers of the Janata regime and leaders of the Congress opposition.

Gandhi, no—repression, yes

A commission appointed by the Desai regime to inquire into the "excesses" and atrocities committed by Gandhi and her coterie during the emergency is daily bringing out horrible tales of torture and other brutalities against the poor masses. Whole villages were bulldozed simply on the verbal orders of Gandhi's son, Sanjay. When slum dwellers protested against their forcible evictions, they were fired on.

Still, the Janata regime adamantly refuses to arraign Gandhi for these acts. Instead it chose to arrest her on a

very trivial charge, allowing her to get off on an easy acquittal. It did not try to make an example of her to deter future tyrants. The *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly*, in a lead article on October 1, 1977, commented that the Janata regime wanted to disgrace Gandhi, but not what she stood for—authoritarianism.

There is considerable truth in this observation. Confronted by rising struggles of the toiling masses, a capitalist state in a backward country like India, whether it is headed by a Gandhi or a Desai, cannot help but be authoritarian.

It is true that repeal of the state-of-emergency amendments to the constitution would not remove the socioeconomic roots of repression, and that danger to the rights of the masses can only be removed with a socialist revolution. But agitation around such demands could greatly help revolutionary socialists show the masses how the bourgeoisie can plan to stage a constitutional coup, impose dictatorship, or deprive the masses of their fundamental rights.

During the initial period of elation over the restoration of some democratic rights, the Janata Party was reported to have seriously considered the removal of these provisions. At the time, the CPI(M) was disoriented, since it had never projected such a demand, either in its election manifesto or its propaganda work. On the contrary, it had proposed that the emergency provisions be retained on the grounds of "external dangers." Even now, the CPI(M) simply urges the Janata Party regime to prosecute Gandhi as the main culprit.

There is not an element of Marxist analysis in the CPI(M)'s subjective assessment of the period of the emergency. Consequently the CPI(M) is not

in a position to offer an independent class perspective or policy on the question of democratic and trade-union rights in India. Its perspective is that of class collaboration with the Janata regime. Its struggles and demands, whether on the political or trade-union plane, are subordinated to this overall approach.

As for the CPI, little needs to be said. Its abject servility to Gandhi and the Congress Party even today has prevented it from adopting an independent stance.

In this context, the Janata regime is actively considering a major attack on one of the most fundamental rights of the trade unions, namely their right to act as their own bargaining agents on behalf of their members.

Threat to unions

The regime has already prepared a comprehensive industrial relations bill. It proposes to provide for the election, through secret ballot by the workers, of a "bargaining agent" in a plant or industry. This agent will be recognised by the employers and will be empowered to undertake collective bargaining on behalf of the workers, without reference to and outside the jurisdiction of the trade unions in those enterprises.

The bosses will have the power to deduct the dues of the workers from their paychecks and hand these over to the bargaining agent, who, in turn, is to share part of this collection with the trade unions falling in his sphere of authority or jurisdiction. This arrangement is supposed to cut across and resolve the problem of recognition of bargaining agents in conditions of trade-union rivalry.

If enacted and applied, this measure will cut the heart out of the trade-union movement in India.

The legal framework for industrial relations was originally laid down during the British period. Its basis is the Trade Unions Act of 1926 and the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. These laws assign an important role to the capitalist state in resolving industrial disputes. The entire apparatus is weighted against the right of the workers to strike.

In their struggles against the bosses for a greater share of the surplus value produced by themselves, the workers are forced to participate in time-consuming and expensive bargaining procedures. The whole system is designed to fragment the labor movement's organized strength and to sap its energies in the lobbies of arbitration courts.

In such a setup the unions become dependent on the government. Obviously, unions aligned with the ruling party have a decisive edge over their rivals. For three decades the unions that looked to the Congress Party enjoyed such patronage. Now it is the turn of the unions linked to the Janata Party.

If despite this prohibitive framework the workers go on strike, the state uses violent measures to resolve the dispute in favor of the bourgeoisie, as in the case of the brutal suppression of the May 1974 railway strike.

Unfortunately, none of the major tendencies in the Indian working-class movement has a perspective that can challenge the threats now being raised by the Janata regime.

Working-class struggles and strikes are increasing in India. So are student struggles at several campuses in the country. In view of these developments, it will not be long before the Janata regime adopts strong-arm methods to quell the rising ferment.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Indian rail workers plan general strike

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—Massive rallies of railway workers in Delhi and other cities were followed recently by a meeting in Delhi of the General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF). It directed affiliated unions to convene meetings of their respective general councils by March and make necessary preparations for an indefinite general strike throughout the country. The unions have been asked to begin collecting strike funds.

The General Council of the AIRF was of the view that an indefinite strike was the only weapon the workers had to compel the Janata Party regime to meet their demands.

The council noted that there was a "large section in the ruling party which stood with us in the past and worked ceaselessly for the realisation of these very demands." The reference was to Railway Minister Madhu Danavade and Industries Minister George Fernandes, both former labor leaders. The council believes that they will continue to support the railway workers' struggle. So far, this faith in the government ministers has borne no fruit.

The question is: What direction will

the AIRF take in view of the fact that its own leaders are now government ministers?

The AIRF has declared that it will not tail behind the Janata regime and that it would oppose it if necessary to uphold the interests of the workers.

At the same time, some of the traditional AIRF leaders experienced the power of the railway workers during the 1974 general strike and are frightened of it. They do not want militant action that could disturb the Janata Party.

On one of the major issues in the dispute, the payment of bonuses, the railway workers feel that they have been cheated by the Janata Party. During the elections it had promised to treat bonuses as deferred wages and to restore the right of all workers to a minimum bonus of 8 percent of their wages. But since coming to power, the Janata Party has refused to fulfill its promise.

The problem of "casual" workers is also at issue. The workers are demanding permanent employment status for hundreds of thousands of casual workers, many of whom have been employed on the railways for decades. They perform such duties as expand-



Rail workers in New Delhi demonstrate during 1974 strike

ing and maintaining the railway network, doubling tracks, and laying and electrifying new lines. Their wages are miserably low—in many cases lower than those of agricultural laborers. Track maintenance, for instance, is a permanent job, but 65 percent of the maintenance gangs are classified as casual workers.

Another problem is the immense increase in workload. The expansion of the railways has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of employees. During the state of emergency, the workload was increased even further. With the greater frequency of Bombay's suburban trains, for instance, the rest time of motormen was reduced. The working hours of gangmen have been increased by half an hour. This speedup has contributed to the rising incidence of railway accidents.

The International Railway Convention has categorized railways as an industry. The 1972 Railway Labour Tribunal has done the same. Yet the Janata regime still refuses to recognize railway workers as industrial workers. Railway workers in India are thus denied their full trade-union rights. They continue to be subjected to a different set of regulations governing working hours.

The railway workers are demanding that they be recognised as industrial workers, that their work day be eight hours, and that they be granted full trade-union rights. They are also demanding that all charges against railway workers stemming from the 1974 general strike be withdrawn and that full back wages be paid for the strike period.

January 8, 1978

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Release Chinese Trotskyists now!



Part of rally to demand democratic rights in China, organized by Hong Kong socialists in May 1976.

[The following is an open letter, dated "October 1977," addressed by six Hong Kong publications to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the projected Fifth National People's Congress.]

* * *

On the occasion of your celebration of the first anniversary of the downfall of the "gang of four," the promise made by the Eleventh Congress of your party to convoke the Fifth National People's Congress, and its solemn pledge to "develop democracy," we would like to put to you the following elementary democratic demand.

Secret arrests

Twenty-five years ago, on the night of 21 December 1952, your police secretly, and therefore illegally, arrested most members of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. We now demand: to show that you are sincere about "developing democracy," please make public immediately what happened to the more than 300 Trotskyists you arrested, and set free all those who are still alive in your prisons.

Not all the undersigned are of Trotskyist political persuasion. Some are, others are not. But we agree on one point: that it is extremely undemocratic and outrageously illegal of you to secretly arrest some hundreds of political dissidents without giving them a public and impartial trial, and to jail them for twenty-five years!

We also agree that the Chinese Trotskyists, like Trotskyists all over the world, are revolutionary communists. Over the past fifty years they firmly opposed the reactionary forces in China (Peiyang warlords, then the Kuomintang²), firmly opposed impe-

rialism, and firmly participated in the democratic and socialist revolutions in China.

Many of them were given long prison sentences by the Kuomintang for their revolutionary activities, and some even paid with their lives. Therefore, no matter what differences there may have been between your party and the Chinese Trotskyists on revolutionary strategy and tactics, the Trotskyists have never been counterrevolutionaries (as Stalin would have people believe), and should never have been arrested and imprisoned.

Among the arrested were well-known veterans of Chinese communism like Cheng Ch'ao-lin, Ho Chi-shen, Ying K'uen, Chiang Tseng-tung, Lin Hwanchua, Liu Kwang-hsiu, Li Lo-ming, Chou Jen-sheng, Liu Ping-chao and Lin Soong-chi. You know as well as we that they joined the revolution and acted as its leaders at various levels ever since the early twenties. They made brilliant contributions to the revolution of 1925-27. They were terribly persecuted by the Kuomintang after the defeat of the revolution, and under persecution they showed themselves without exception to be loyal and unbending communists.

Let the world know

If you are really communists, as you claim to be, you should never have treated revolutionary communists such as these in the way you have done. You should now meet our demands by immediately setting them free and allowing them to express their opinions freely and to carry on their activities without restriction.

The first and least thing you should do is let the world known what has happened to Cheng Ch'ao-lin and the others and what their present situation is.

Only in this way can you show that you are really on the way towards the establishment of democracy and legality in China.

Only in this way can you show yourselves to be genuinely different from the "gang of four."

*October Review
Rive Gauche Monthly
Equator Monthly
Combat Weekly
Sincere Publishers
Reawakening Monthly*

1. Chiang Ch'ing, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, and Yao Wen-yuan, all members of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), were arrested by the Hua Kuo-feng regime on October 7, 1976, a month after the death of Chairman Mao (September 9). Although they were among the late dictator's closest associates, they were dubbed the "gang of four" by Mao's successors and accused of innumerable crimes. Their present fate is unknown.

The Eleventh Congress was held August 12-18, 1977. No date has been set as yet for the Fifth National People's Congress.

2. The Peiyang (Northern Ocean army) was the main instrument of warlord rule in North China until the country was brought under Kuomintang rule in 1928.

The Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party,

World news notes

French CP joins defense of Shcharansky

The case of Anatoly Shcharansky, a prominent Soviet dissident who has been imprisoned for nearly a year on a phony charge of treason, has been taken up by the French Communist Party.

A lengthy article in the January 24 issue of the French CP daily *l'Humanité* criticized the Kremlin's denial of legal rights to Shcharansky, saying: "We consider it unacceptable . . . for any country whatsoever—and all the more so for a Communist country—to fail to recognize the rights of a defendant."

Exxon helps out Pinochet

At ceremonies held in Santiago January 24, the Exxon Corporation announced its intention to buy La Disputada copper mine from the Chilean government for \$107 million. Exxon plans to invest up to \$1.1 billion for expansion of production at the mine.

Exxon officials stressed that they had consulted the State Department before making the deal, which will be the largest investment by a U.S. corporation in Chile since the 1973 coup that brought the Pinochet dictatorship to power.

Protests in Nablus

Israeli occupation forces arrested between thirty-five and fifty Palestinian youths in the West Bank town of Nablus February 6, the second day of protests against three new Israeli colonies under construction in the heart of the occupied West Bank. Nablus is the largest city on the West Bank after East Jerusalem, and the paramilitary settlements of Tel Kharis, Tapuach, and Silt-a-Dahar are situated around it in a pattern intended to control contact between Nablus and other Arab towns.



New York Times

Censorship in Israel

In a heavy-handed move that aroused fears about Israel's international image among many Zionists, Minister of Education Zevulun Hammer ordered a last-minute cancellation of a play scheduled to be shown on Israeli television February 6.

The play, *Hirbet Hiza*, written by S. Izhar (Smilansky), portrays the expulsion of Arab villagers from their homes by Israeli forces during the 1948-49 war that established the Israeli state. About 750,000 Palestinians were forced out of their homeland by Zionist forces during that war, and the author of the play affirmed in a radio interview February 7 that it was based on incidents he had witnessed in 1949.

Arms and the man—I

U.S. weapons dominate the world arms trade. They are one of American imperialism's biggest and most profitable exports.

Last May President Carter vowed to cut back U.S. arms sales abroad, and on February 1 White House officials announced that Carter's goal had been met—at least as they saw it.

The White House proudly announced that sales to "nonaligned" countries would be reduced in the 1978 fiscal year, which began October 1, to \$8.6 billion, compared to \$9.3 billion in the previous fiscal year. But the White House figure did not include arms sales to Washington's imperialist allies, including all the NATO countries, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

If these sales, along with military construction projects not included in the figures, are added in, U.S. military sales abroad would rise to more than \$13 billion—an increase of almost \$2 billion over the previous fiscal year.

Jessica Tuchman, a member of the National Security Council staff, admitted "This might disappoint people outside the administration who had unrealistic hopes for how far arms sales could be cut in the first year."

Arms and the man—II

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 5—The Carter Administration plans to maintain existing levels of military aid to the Philippines next year even though a State Department report accused the Marcos Government of torture and 'severe intrusions on individual rights.'

"According to Government officials, the Administration's military assistance request for the 1979 fiscal year contains a request for \$36.6 million in arms aid and credits for the Philippines, the same amount approved by Congress last year. This figure could be increased significantly if the Administration succeeds this year in concluding a new base-rights agreement with the Philippines. Officials estimate that could provide the Government of Ferdinand E. Marcos with over \$100 million in long-term military assistance. . . .

"In addition to the \$36.6 million for the Philippines, the Administration is asking for \$275 million in sales credits for South Korea in fiscal 1979."

Richard Burt, in the February 6 New York Times.

Statement of Fourth International

The Vietnam-Cambodia border conflict

[The following statement was issued January 16 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

A bloody border conflict has begun between Vietnam and Cambodia. It remains difficult to determine the real extent of the clashes that have taken place, and the exact state of the military situation on the ground. Nevertheless, the grave political consequences of these confrontations must not be underestimated.

The first border incidents between the two countries go back to the immediate aftermath of the imperialist defeat in Indochina, and have never been suspended for very long since then. The fact, dreadful in and of itself, that two peoples who had long fought side by side against a common enemy were involved in a fratricidal war, was known before the recent events.

On December 31, 1977, the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia took on new political dimensions. Cambodian radio broadcasts announced a "temporary breakoff" of diplomatic relations between Kampuchea and Vietnam, denouncing "the invasion of our territory" by Vietnamese troops and the "crimes" allegedly committed against Cambodian citizens, going so far as to compare the Hanoi regime to that of Hitler's Germany.

A short time later, the Vietnamese government issued a statement in which it too condemned the "atrocities" it claimed Cambodian troops had repeatedly carried out on Vietnamese territory. It claimed to be acting in "self-defense" and called for the immediate opening of negotiations to settle the border dispute. The depth of the rift now separating the two regimes—though both emerged out of related liberation struggles—was suddenly brought out in the open.

Threat of wider conflict

The ramifications of the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia must not be underestimated. It sets up a situation that could deteriorate into a broader military conflict. Its human and material cost to the Vietnamese and Kampuchean populations is already exorbitant, for they also face terrible hardships as a legacy of their precolonial past, a century of French rule, and more than three decades of imperialist war. This conflict may deal a hard blow to the revolutionary struggles under way in Southeast Asia, including in Thailand, after the defeat of imperialism in Indochina had opened a period favoring their development.

The international consequences may also prove to be grave. The Indochinese peoples' struggle against American imperialism largely contributed to Washington's loss of political credibility and moral authority. The Vietnamese-Cambodian crisis is lending considerable assistance to Carter's efforts to refurbish American imperialism's image.

Since the victory of the liberation struggles in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea in 1975, the bourgeois media around the world have pounced on all of the bureaucratic and antidemocratic measures taken by one or the other regime to feed their anticommunist campaign. This was particularly the case with respect to Cambodia, where the leadership adopted brutal measures of mass social repression. Now the mass media have seized on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border dis-



U.S. warplanes spreading defoliants over Indochina. Conflict between Hanoi and Phnom Penh is helping Washington refurbish its image.

pute to even further discredit revolutionary struggle, internationalism, and the fight for socialism.

How such a conflict could have arisen between two regimes claiming to be socialist cannot be understood without taking into account the history of the international workers movement over the last fifty years. It provides a dramatic illustration of the terrible price workers are still paying for the victory of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the international communist movement. Stalinism, wedded to the defense of the narrow national interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy in the name of the "theory" of "socialism in one country," caused the destruction of the Third International by burying the program of the world revolution: revolutionary internationalism, the basis on which the Comintern was founded after the victory of October 1917.

One of the most harmful consequences of this degeneration was the abandonment of genuine internationalist cooperation by those countries that had overturned capitalism, and the development of nationalist rivalry. This tendency was clearly illustrated by the domination of Eastern Europe by the Kremlin and by the outbreak of the Sino-Soviet conflict. Had the Stalinist ideology of "socialism in one country" not triumphed, the sharpness of the confrontation between Vietnam and Cambodia would be inconceivable.

Role of Moscow & Peking

Furthermore, the Sino-Soviet conflict has played a direct role in the deterioration of relations between Vietnam and Cambodia. Moscow and Peking's share of responsibility must be pointed out. In the past the Soviet leadership refused, in the name of "peaceful coexistence," to provide the type of support to the peoples of Indochina that could have brought a quick end to American escalation and substantially lessened the toll of an exhausting liberation struggle against the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

In addition, up to the last minute Moscow refused to break with the puppet regime of Lon Nol in Cambodia, for fear of the pro-Chinese sympathies of Sihanouk and the Khmers Rouges. As for the Chinese Communist Party, it has covered up for the bureaucratic and nationalist line of the present Cambodian leadership so as to resist the spread of Vietnamese influence in the area.

In Peking's view, the Vietnamese leadership is guilty of having refused to condemn Russian "social imperialism" as the "main enemy of the world's peoples." The Soviet and Chinese leaderships are each covering up for their "ally" in the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia, on behalf of

their own narrow national interests as state bureaucracies.

The weight of Stalinism internationally and the Stalinist training of the Vietnamese and Cambodian leaderships partly explain the extent of the resurgence of nationalism in Indochina. Because, too, of the historic animosity deliberately intensified by imperialism, an outlook molded by more than thirty years of long-isolated national liberation struggles, and now, because of the extreme bureaucratic deformation that characterize these regimes, not one of the leaderships—Vietnamese, Laotian, or Cambodian—has been able to avoid taking this course.

The rejection in principle by the Cambodian leadership of any form of real cooperation among the three Indochinese countries, the sealing of the country's borders, and the intense nationalism of its political line, are the most extreme reflection of this, and certainly bear a share of the responsibility for the violence of the current conflict. However, each of these regimes is characterized, to one degree or another, by strong nationalist traits.

At a time when the "Eurocommunist" parties are helping to reinforce reformist illusions about the "national roads to socialism," there is a great danger that, after having been the leaven of internationalism for several political generations, Indochina may become a symbol of the supposedly inevitable triumph of national chauvinism. To counter this danger, it is necessary to struggle unrelentingly for the rebirth of genuine revolutionary

internationalism, and therefore to work at building its indispensable tool—the international, the world party of socialist revolution.

It must be stated that the interests of the working masses of Indochina are bound up with the establishment of growing cooperation on all levels—economic, military, and political—among Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. It is in this way that these countries will be able to gather the strength to rebuild to face the threat of imperialism.

Need for socialist democracy

However, such cooperation cannot be imposed. The federative structures it requires can only arise out of the revolutionary mobilization of the Indochinese masses, with strict respect for the rights of minorities to decide for themselves. Because of this, the struggle for internationalism is closely connected to the fight to establish genuine socialist democracy in Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, to institute a government of workers and farmers councils in the Socialist United States of Indochina. Not one of the Indochinese leaderships is capable of putting forward such a program for socialist democracy.

But the most pressing issue raised today by the outbreak of this conflict is the need for an immediate suspension of the armed clashes. It is still impossible to make a final judgment as to the direct responsibility borne by each of the parties for the deterioration of the border dispute between Vietnam and Cambodia. The total control imposed by each regime over news reports, and their consistent use of secret diplomacy—both of which are in opposition to Leninist traditions—clearly present sizable obstacles to making such an assessment. But those who were the first to take up arms in the past—and would do so again in the future—must bear the responsibility in the eyes of the Indochinese masses and the worldwide workers movement.

It is criminal to involve the Vietnamese and Cambodian populations in bloody clashes for the sake of a border dispute, and all in the name of socialism! The use of weapons should be banned from the resolution of such problems. The border issue should be settled through open and public negotiations.

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Women in Revolt

On the line

Marcie Kuzeja is like the women who are pictured in Ma Bell ads putting up telephone lines. She's a telephone installer.

I met Marcie on the bus to Richmond, Virginia, for the January 22 Equal Rights Amendment demonstration. She is active in the National Organization for Women and is a member of the Communication Workers of America and the Socialist Workers Party.

What's your job like? I asked.

It's interesting, complex work that takes time to learn, Marcie said. But a lot of it "means climbing ladders forty feet up in the air and getting into the crawlspaces of apartment buildings."

Why do you do it?

"I get the protection of being in a union and the pay and retirement benefits are better," she answered. "I can make a living equal to a man's."

"I was tired of being a secretary," Marcie said.

Most women would know exactly what she means. Four out of every ten working women in this country have clerical jobs. Then there are another

eight million women doing service jobs and more than seven million doing sales.

And because most women are trapped into those traditionally female, low-paying jobs, they earn far less than men.

The government statistics for 1970 break it down this way: year-round, full-time, white, male workers had an average income of \$9,373, as compared to \$6,598 for Black men, \$5,490 for white women, and \$4,675 for Black women.

Thanks to the women's liberation movement, civil rights struggles, and affirmative-action programs, there has been some change. The number of women enrolled in trade and industrial programs to get higher-paying jobs increased 80 percent over the past five years.

Marcie is on a crew of nine installers. How do the men treat her?

"I was scared when I started," she said. "I had heard stories. But there was no problem. Most of the men have been helpful, showing me ways to make the heavy work easier."

Diane Wang



Most of the men seem to be neutral or in favor of women getting jobs. Some have realized that having women in these jobs actually benefits them too. When women became cable splicers, for example, the company had to get rid of outdated, back-breaking equipment.

Marcie got her job because in 1973 a court ordered American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) to hire enough women to fill 38 to 40 percent of its inside craft jobs and 19 percent of the outside jobs. "No doubt about it," Marcie told me, "my job was directly the result of affirmative action."

That is one reason she is helping organize a public program in her NOW chapter on the *Bakke* case, the challenge to affirmative action being heard by the Supreme Court this spring.

Affirmative action is on the line.

The future of all women like Marcie trying to get better jobs or education is at stake.

That is why it is so important for women to be at the April 15 demonstration in Washington, D.C., to defend affirmative action and defeat *Bakke*.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Immigrant workers: a 'problem' for the CP

A current affairs quiz: Who said, "As you see, the problem of undocumented workers is far more complex than simply closing of the borders. . . .?"

Was it U.S. Rep. Peter Rodino, pushing his bill to make it illegal to hire undocumented immigrants? James Earl Carter, explaining why he wants to turn the Social Security card into a national identification card to enforce the jobs ban?

No, it was Lorenzo Tórrez, head of the U.S. Communist Party's Chicano Commission, writing in the January 21 "Ask an Expert" column of the *Daily World*.

The question was about immigrants: "I've been reading that they cost us jobs, and it seems to me that they do. If we had a 'hands off' and 'open borders' policy more and more people would come here looking for already scarce U.S. jobs. . . ."

Now, Tórrez has a few correct things to say. He rejects the racist charge that undocumented workers cause everything from unemployment to venereal disease.

But basically he ducks the issue—it's "more complex," you see. Nowhere does he mention the very simple Marxist position that rejects the idea

that working people should be caged in borders. Nowhere does he talk about organizing a movement to stop deportations.

You might think this was simply an oversight, a slip. But that's not the case.

Last October, for example, there was a joint meeting of Mexican and U.S. CP leaders in New York. They issued a lengthy and wide-ranging communique, which was printed in full in the *Daily World*. The communique did not even mention the immigration issue.

The pattern seems clear. The CP feels that defense of the undocumented is, at best, a tenth-rate question. Why? I think there are several reasons.

One is their strategy of supporting liberal Democrats. The Stalinists especially play up to those Black and Chicano Democratic politicians who help keep the oppressed corralled in the parties of the oppressors.

Since the Democratic Party will never accept the slogan "Stop the Deportations!" the CP evidently prefers not to put its "progressive" politician friends on the spot.

On the other hand, the CP is openly hostile to the

independent Chicano Raza Unida parties in the Southwest.

A second reason is the CP's fierce opposition to Chicano nationalism. A few months ago Tórrez explained in the *Daily World* that Chicano nationalism "is the last trench of reaction." Slogans like "Raza sí, migra no!" stick in his craw.

A third reason, one that's intimately related to the other two, is that the CP's vocation in politics is blind defense of the narrow, bureaucratic interests of the Stalinist gang that rules the Soviet Union. And the Soviet Union doesn't have such a clean record on the open borders question. Not only are Soviet citizens not allowed to leave the Soviet Union without government permission—but even inside the country they can't move from one city to another without a passport.

If the American CP began to drum up support for open borders, some of its members might start asking why that wouldn't be a good idea for the Soviet Union too.

And that's the kind of questioning that CP leaders such as Tórrez want to put up their own borders to prevent.

—José G. Pérez

By Any Means Necessary

Looking beyond Carter?

After a year of the Carter presidency, many leaders of Black civil rights groups who helped turn out the vote for him are expressing disappointment with his performance.

Most have confined their expressions of disappointment, however, to mild complaints to the White House.

One leader of a Black civil rights group, however, has put forward an "alternative" to simply pleading with Carter—Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH.

In a recent keynote speech to the Republican Party National Committee, Jackson said: "Mutual need is the basis of an alliance. Black people need the Republican Party to compete for us so that we have real alternatives for meeting our needs.

"The Republican Party needs Black people if it is to ever compete for national office."

Jackson's overture to the Republicans received a standing ovation. Nearly \$700,000 has been earmarked by the GOP for recruiting and funding

Black candidates this year and corralling Black votes.

Noting the forty-year-long allegiance of Blacks to the Democratic Party, Jackson told the Republicans, "We must pursue a strategy that prohibits one party from taking us for granted."

What strategy? According to Jackson perhaps an alliance of convenience with the Republicans, provided they make a few cosmetic changes—more Black faces in prominent positions, more Black candidates, and more election-time promises.

But this is no alternative at all. Because for all practical purposes the Democrats and Republicans are one party—the party of the wealthy, white capitalist ruling class that profits from the oppression of Blacks.

While many Republicans make no bones about being in the party of big business, the Democrats pose as friends of Blacks and labor. But in office both parties carry out anti-Black, antilabor policies.

That a political alternative to Carter and his

John Hawkins



administration is needed is becoming increasingly apparent to many Blacks. But that alternative is not to be found within the framework of the two-party system.

Instead, a good starting point would be for Black civil rights organizations like Operation PUSH to scrap their policy of collaboration with the parties and politicians of the ruling rich. They could mobilize the Black community in a campaign of demonstrations, boycotts, and sit-ins for jobs and in defense of such hard-won gains as affirmative-action hiring programs and school desegregation.

And these organizations could field independent Black candidates beholden to neither the Democrats nor the Republicans.

Such a course could lead to the formation of a Black political party outside of—and in opposition to—the two-party system.

That's the kind of strategy that will prohibit one party—the party of the bosses—from taking Blacks for granted.

NAACP issues call for Davis Cup protest

NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks called for "massive demonstrations" to protest the participation of South Africa in the Davis Cup tennis competition March 17-19. Hooks spoke at a January 31 news conference organized by the Coalition for Human Rights in South Africa.

Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, will be the site of the tournament.

The coalition was formed last fall to protest South Africa's crackdown on Black organizations and the murder of Steve Biko. It is composed of more than twenty organizations, including the NAACP, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Urban League, American Committee on Africa, ACCESS, and Washington Office on Africa.

Hooks told the news conference he would mobilize all 1,700 branches of the NAACP and friends to join him and other civil rights leaders in Nashville.

"We will march," Hooks continued, "we will sing freedom songs, we will cry out in the name of Steven Biko and all the other martyrs of that despicable and inhuman system of racism."

Spokesperson Franklin Williams said the coalition's goal was "to bring public attention to the fact that the U.S. Tennis Association is the only member of the International Tennis Association willing to mix racism and tennis."

Teams from Venezuela, Mexico, Canada, and the Caribbean have withdrawn from Davis Cup play because they refuse to play South Africa. The government of Colombia refused visas to South Africa's team.

The New York *Amsterdam News* reported February 4

that Black tennis star Arthur Ashe "agreed to support a boycott of the Davis Cup competition."

The coalition is demanding the USTA "withdraw its invitation to South Africa's players," and that Vanderbilt University not allow the matches to be held there.

Vanderbilt president Emmet Fields has so far refused, saying, "Vanderbilt has made a commitment to host the Davis Cup and has every intention of honoring that commitment."



Protesters at 1977 Davis Cup tournament

FIND SATELLITE PIECE

Canadian scientists February 4 located the most radioactive piece yet of a Soviet satellite that fell to earth in northern Canada January 24.

The *New York Times* reported the fragment emitted "strong, hazardous radiation." Geiger counter readings

reached 100 roentgens per hour. The safety level for American atomic workers is five roentgens per year.

GROSSLY INFLATED

The U.S. gross national product (GNP) hit \$2 trillion January 27. The GNP reached \$1

trillion in 1971. A full two-thirds of the second trillion came from inflation. In other words, measured by what a dollar would buy in 1972, the GNP is only \$1.37 trillion.

But if you've gone to the supermarket lately, you already knew that.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

S. F.: MISSION DISTRICT WILL THE SADAT, BEGIN TALKS BRING PEACE? Speakers: Nabil Ghazaleh, Socialist Workers Party; Haifa Saab, Organization of Arab Students; Peter Buch, SWP. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

SAN JOSE

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: SAN JOSE AND THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Panel of community activists. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. 942 Santa Clara St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO DENVER

THE ANTIDEPORTATIONS MOVEMENT. Speakers: Activists from Colorado Coalition on Immigration & Civil Rights; Sylvia Zapata, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 916 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? Speaker: Bill Onasch, Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

ST. PAUL

LEGISLATED MORALITY OR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS: A CHALLENGE TO THE ST. PAUL HUMAN RIGHTS ORDINANCE. Speakers: Ora Lee Patterson, St. Paul Human Rights commissioner; Tom Burke, independent gay candidate for St. Paul City Council; Carla Messman, St.

Paul Citizens for Human Rights; Libby Moser, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of St. Paul. Fri., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. Macalester College, room to be posted. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum; Macalester Feminist Collective. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? Discussion with Libby Moser, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of St. Paul. Sat., Feb. 18, 2 p.m. 176 Western Ave. (corner of Western & Selby). Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Newark speaking on "Why Gibson can't solve Newark's problems." Sat., Feb. 18, reception: 6:30 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK: THE BRONX THE CASE FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. Speaker: Margaret Winter, attorney for Héctor Marroquin, representative of Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

OHIO TOLEDO

SOUTH AFRICA: CRACKDOWN ON BLACK RIGHTS. Speakers: Don Viapree, member All-African People's Revolutionary Party & cofounder of Bowling Green

Black African People's Association; Moisah San Tibuku, student, University of Toledo, and member of Toledo Area Coalition for Affirmative Action; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILA.: GERMANTOWN

IRAN: REPRESSION VS. HUMAN RIGHTS. Speaker: Simak Zahraie, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 844-2874.

TEXAS DALLAS

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? A class series. Sun., Feb. 12; Wed., Feb. 22; and Sun., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

HOUSTON: EAST END CLASSES ON SOCIALISM.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Class #2. The difference between the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 19, 4 p.m. 4987 Martin Luther King Drive (formerly South Park). Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

SAN ANTONIO BENEFIT FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN

BENEFIT FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN Speakers: Héctor Marroquin; city council member Bernard Eureste. Fri., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. Our Lady of the Lake University, Providence Social Room. Ausp: The Legend, Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (512) 432-7265.

Free the Wilmington Ten!

Militant correspondent Marc Strumpf reports from Washington, D.C., that 1,000 people picketed the White House February 4 to protest the government's refusal to pardon the Wilmington Ten—nine Black men and a white woman framed up in North Carolina for their civil rights activities.

Picketers carried signs with slogans such as "Human rights begin at home," and "Because they are innocent men, free the Wilmington Ten."

The international attention this case has received forced the Carter administration to acknowledge the demonstrators by sending a White House representative to meet with protest organizers. An assistant to White House aide Margaret Costanza was given a petition carrying more than 40,000 signatures demanding the release of the Wilmington Ten.

A letter addressed to President Carter was also handed over by the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee National Coordinator Imani Kazana. The letter blasted Carter for not using his influence with North Carolina Gov. James Hunt to win a pardon for the ten political prisoners. It also called for indictments against the state officials who had forced witnesses to testify falsely against the ten.

ARCHULETA STILL JAILED

A federal judge in New York City refused February 2 to free Pedro Archuleta, a Chicano activist who has been in jail six months for his refusal to cooperate with a grand jury witch-hunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement. The jury claims to be investigating a 1975 New York City bombing supposedly carried out by a group known as the FALN.

Judge Richard Owen declared he would keep Archuleta imprisoned to take advantage of "whatever coercion may yet exist to compel the possibility of invaluable testimony."

Archuleta could be kept in jail until the grand jury term expires May 8.

MINIMUM WAGE?

According to a study by the New York City Central Labor

Council, hundreds of thousands of Puerto Rican workers put in an average of seventy hours a week on the job for less than the minimum wage.

Ralph Graulau of the council's Hispanic Labor Committee told a State Assembly committee that "Puerto Ricans are at the bottom of the barrel. They are today's exploited worker."

DISCOURAGED WORKERS

According to the February 1 *New York Daily News*, "The State Labor Department reported that unemployment fell in New York City in December for the first time in five years. But the decline was largely the result of thousands of discouraged workers giving up the search for jobs."

So next time you see government figures reporting a drop in joblessness, read a little further to see if you've been told the whole story.

Forums on Malcolm X

CALIFORNIA

SAN DIEGO

MALCOLM X: HIS MESSAGE AND ITS MEANING FOR TODAY. Speakers: Ambrose Brodus, education director, San Diego Urban League; Barnett Ammar Saleem, member, American Postal Workers Union; Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California attorney general. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m., 1053 15th St. (15th & C). Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

MALCOLM X & HIS IDEAS: NEW FACTS ON HIS ASSASSINATION. Panel discussion with: Alan Berger, *Real Paper*; Alta Starr, Socialist Workers Party. Film: *Malcolm X, the Struggle for Freedom*. Fri., Feb. 17, 7 p.m. Roxbury YMCA, 401 Warren St., Roxbury. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 288-0753.

NEW YORK BROOKLYN

THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X AND THE FIGHT FOR BLACK RIGHTS TODAY. Speaker: Keith Jones, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. Room 105 Douglass Hall, Howard University. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Howard University Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

UPPER WEST SIDE

MALCOLM X AND THE BLACK MOVEMENT TODAY. Speakers: Omari Musa, staff writer for the *Militant*; others. "Archives in Black Culture" display on Malcolm X. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

MALCOLM X: STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. A film, tapes, speaker: Thabo Ntwend, national committee member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

TEXAS DALLAS

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MALCOLM X: HIS LEGACY FOR TODAY. Speakers: Jerry Hunnicut, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Film to be announced. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m. Room 105 Douglass Hall, Howard University. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Howard University Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

KILLER COPS SPARK FUROR

The Los Angeles Police Department is faced with an explosive scandal as the result of the January 9 death of twenty-one-year-old Ferdinand Bell.

Arrested for alleged reckless driving, Bell was later found dead at a prison medical facility, reportedly of a broken neck. Police said they had put a "control hold" on Bell after he had become violent. They charged he was under the influence of the drug "angel dust."

Bell was chairperson of the NAACP Youth and College Division's Police and Community Relations Committee. He was also a drug counselor for the NAACP youth affiliate.

Carl Henry, president of the Youth and College Division, and Marion Hill, NAACP youth advisor, will report their findings from an investigation of the killing at a meeting of the Crenshaw Militant Forum in Los Angeles February 17.

THOMSON LIKES S. AFRICA

New Hampshire Gov. Melvin Thomson, returning from an eleven-day trip to South Africa, said he thought the government there was trying to improve the life of the Black population. He praised the efforts of South African Prime Minister John Vorster.

While backing off from endorsing apartheid, Thomson said, "We should not be pointing the finger of scorn," because South Africa's "racial problem" is "far greater than we have in America."

Quote unquote

"At the risk of being considered soft on tyranny or something, we have to confess that the CIA has never terrified us."

—From a January 31 editorial in the 'Wall Street Journal.'

Thomson has also distinguished himself by advocating nuclear weapons for the New Hampshire National Guard.

CAPITALIST JUSTICE

On January 2 three workers at an Exxon refinery in California died of carbon monoxide poisoning. A month later, the state Occupational Safety and Health Administration levied a \$1,200 fine on the giant corporation for four "serious" safety violations—that's \$400 per worker life.

J.B. JOHNSON WEEK

January 23-28 was J.B. Johnson week in St. Louis, marking eight years of struggle to reverse frame-up murder charges against the imprisoned Black youth. Activities included a rally at St. Louis University, featuring Sentwali Ateria of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and daily picketing outside the county courthouse.

Mauldin, Kutter & the FBI

Well-known political cartoonist Bill Mauldin sent off for his FBI file and found that the bureau had indeed been keeping tabs on him—just as he had expected.

One activity that earned the wrath of the FBI: "I joined a campaign for a veteran whose legs were shot off and who was being denied a pension because he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party."

The veteran was Jimmy Kutter. Kutter and his supporters fought the witch-hunters for years until they finally forced the government to give in. Kutter's fight is described in detail in *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, available for \$2.95 from Pathfinder Press.



JIMMY KUTTER

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National Picket Line**Frank Lovell****Labor party debate**

Shoffa wants the discussion to continue. "I would like to hear your opinion on whether we should have our people running for political office," he said, "not as Democrats or Republicans, but as a Workers Party."

Very likely, Shoffa got few responses from the members of his own local and other readers of *Organized Labor*, but that does not mean that many who read his report do not agree with him. If they don't write and say so, it is because they have little confidence that their unions as presently constituted will or can undertake the organization of a labor party. Or they wonder who the labor party candidates would be and how well they would campaign. Or they doubt there would be much support for a labor party outside the unions. Or they hope that someday soon a labor party with union backing will be announced, but they don't know what they can do to hasten that day.

These doubts, hesitations, and uncertainties about how to organize a labor party are signs of a developing political consciousness among millions of workers. They realize that politics affects their lives and is partly responsible for most of their troubles. That is a big advance over the indifference of many workers to politics only a few years ago.

Every day they are becoming more convinced that the Democrats and Republicans can do very little for them, and never intended to. As the Carter administration bears down heavier on the past gains of the unions, more workers will decide that the cost of supporting the Democratic Party is too great.

The first serious discussion at union meetings will probably come on the question of giving more money to the Democrats and Republicans in the 1978 elections. Top union bureaucrats are gearing up for a big drive for membership contributions again, this time to punish some turncoats by electing new "friends" in both capitalist parties.

It is time to end all "statesmanship" and posturing and advance some political demands that reflect the needs of the workers. The first step on this road is a clean break with the parties of the employers.

The Great Society**Harry Ring**

The morality boys—It struck us that the principled refusal by FBI director-designate Webster to withdraw from his Jim Crow social clubs gave added moral weight to the call by Vice-president Mondale for "a new constituency of conscience" in the battle for civil rights.

Man of experience—The old adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief" came to mind as we read about Burt Pines's campaign for California attorney general. As Los Angeles city attorney, Pines was caught giving the police authorization to illegally shred files favorable to defendants. Queried about this, Pines responded: "As a result of this experience, I'm going to make a better attorney general."

Progress report—The head of the American Hospital Association says voluntary efforts resulted in hospital costs increasing only 16 percent last year as

against 19 percent the previous year. We hear some places are now dispensing aspirins for as little as a dollar apiece.

Keeping the economy afloat—Statistic freaks may be interested to know that the Queen Elizabeth II started out on its ninety-day world cruise stocked with 4,000 pounds of caviar, 33,750 pounds of lobster, and 35,000 bottles of champagne and other wines.

Same as us—A court ruled that Elvis Presley's estate should continue paying his father's weekly stipend of \$1,400. Said Dad: "The salary may look big. But by the time I finish paying taxes, there isn't much left."

Rules and regulations—The U.S. Air Force Academy has decided that women cadets who become pregnant may remain in school—unless they get married. Married cadets are verboten.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the *Militant*, 1928-1978

Malcolm X

February 21 will be the thirteenth anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. Reprinted below are excerpts from a speech given by Jack Barnes, then the national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, at a memorial meeting in New York in 1965. The speech was first printed in the May-June 1965 'Young Socialist' magazine. Barnes is currently national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

What attracted revolutionary youth to Malcolm X? More important, what often made youth—including white youth—who listened to him, revolutionists? First, he spoke the simple truth—unadorned, unvarnished and uncompromising.

Malcolm saw the depth of the hypocrisy and falsehood that covers the real social relations in American society. To him the key was not so much the lies that the ruling class and its spokesmen propagated, but the lies and the falsehoods about themselves, their past and their potentialities, that the oppressed accepted.

He asked the black American: Who taught you to hate yourself? Who taught you to be pacifist? Was he a pacifist? Who said black people cannot defend themselves? Does he defend himself? Who taught you not to go too far too fast in your fight for freedom?—Did he stand to lose something by the speed of your victory? Who taught you to vote for the fox to escape the wolf? What does the fox give you in return?

His political thought was the other important thing in the development of those who were taught by him. First, he believed in and explained the need for Afro-American unity. He said, base your alliances on your own unity, and reject unconditionally any degrading or compromising alliances.

Secondly, he spoke of self-defense, and the real meaning of violence. He continually pointed out that the source of violence was the oppressor, not the oppressed.

Thirdly, unlike any other black leader, and unlike any other mass leader in my life-time, he continually exposed the real role of the Democratic Party, and pointed to the mistake in believing the federal government of this country would free the Afro-American.

He said, "The Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return. The Negroes put the Democrats first, and the Democrats put the Negroes last. And the alibi that the Democrats use—they blame the Dixiecrats. But a Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise . . . Because Dixie in reality means all that territory south of the Canadian border."

The final point in his political development which was so important for the



education of those young people who followed him, looked to him, and in many ways were educated by him, was his revolutionary internationalism.

Malcolm gave at least three reasons for his international outlook. First, was the common identity of the power structure which practiced racism in this country and which practiced imperialism abroad. "This system is not only ruling us in America, it is ruling the world," he said.

Second, only through Afro-Americans realizing that they were part of a great majority of non-whites in the world who were fighting for and winning freedom would they have the courage to fight the battle for freedom with whatever means necessary.

Last was the fact that in the final analysis freedom could only be won in one place when it was won everywhere. In Africa, he said, "Our problem is your problem . . . your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected, until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings."

Even though no one can fill his shoes, the fact that he did what he did, developed as the revolutionary leader he was, is the proof of more Malcolms to come.

He was a proof like Fidel was a proof. Fidel stood up 90 miles away from the most powerful imperialism in the world and thumbed his nose and showed us, "see, it can be done. They can't go on controlling the world forever."

Malcolm went even further than Fidel. Because Malcolm challenged American capitalism from right inside. He was the living proof for our generation of revolutionists that it can and will happen here.

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teacher, in fact, the only truthful teacher, and should never be subordinated to theoretical work. But for readers of the *Militant*, it is very important to be able to enhance our knowledge of socialism and our class consciousness.

I wish you great success!

Regarding the changes in the *Militant*, I think that "In Brief" should stay on page 2; it is a more appropriate place when selling the paper.
A.A. Koskinas
West Haven, Connecticut

Police-state liberal

I would like to comment on a headline story in the January 27 *Militant*. The headline read "Hubert Humphrey—the record of a police-state liberal."

Upon seeing this headline I proceeded to read the article to find out the definition of a "police-state liberal." Although I found the article itself informative, I still find the formulation "police-state liberal" on a lower plane of journalism than what I usually find in the *Militant*. What does "police-state liberal" actually mean? True, Hubert Humphrey did play quite a reactionary role—like any other capitalist politician—but it seems you could have headlined something else, like Humphrey's antiunion policies, rather than something as unclear and confusing as "police-state liberal."

Rick Young
Atlanta, Georgia

[In reply—As a U.S. senator, Hubert Humphrey backed police-state measures, such as his 1950 proposal to amend the McCarran Act to set up concentration camps for dissenters during wartime and his 1954 proposal to outlaw the Communist Party.

[These measures, only the most notorious of Humphrey's long record as a witch-hunter, put the headline of the article—"the police-state liberal"—simply on an objective and accurate plane of journalism.]

On new format

I really like the new *Militant*. Instead of a schizophrenic front page, there is a look of a less frightening paper. The headline style and more text on the front page are good. The new sections are good, as well as the areas in boxes ("Class series," "Getting to know our subscribers").

The paper's new look, I think, will make it easier for the new reader to find his/her way around, without getting lost in a page with three disparate articles with no immediate clue to significance or relationship.

I'd like to see more articles on occupational safety and health. Besides being an important (and neglected) area, it is also timely.

David Moss
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

New awareness

I read your column "Women in Revolt" in the *Militant* every week. I find the column not only educational and informative, but it has made me, as a male, aware of my own insensitivities and ignorance of women's struggle for human rights. Until I started reading your column, I merely paid lip service when it came to support. I do hope that now, even behind prison walls, I can translate this new awareness into some kind of action.

A prisoner
New York

More cultural coverage

I want to congratulate you on having included in your issue of January 27 a review of Gabriel García Márquez's great novel, *The Autumn of the Patriarch*. I should like, in fact, to see a full page of every issue of your paper devoted to general cultural concerns. Although I identify my political opinions with your own in most respects, and find that yours is the best paper on the American left, I have found it deficient in this area, and I

Learning About Socialism

believe that it ought not to be so.

While bourgeois philosophers and critics write interminably about the decadence of contemporary culture, it is highly significant that the world's three greatest living writers—García Márquez, Samuel Beckett, and Thomas Pynchon—are all radical critics of existing society and that the best creators and critics in other cultural areas are also radical, if not fully enlightened, in their opinions and their work. Culture is not decadent, but the bourgeoisie is.

Tom Raymond
Iowa City, Iowa

Good Chicano coverage

I am renewing my subscription to the *Militant*. Your paper is very informative about Chicano events. So keep up the good work on this subject.

Your newspaper is a primary source of data on contemporary Chicano events for future historical research. I should know, I wrote a book on Chicano history, and I realize that the *Militant* can be useful to understand some of our latest political conflicts in dealing with the Chicano community and our oppressors.

Carlos Larralde
Long Beach, California

Size was wrong

I enjoyed your coverage of the January 22 women's rights actions. However, since I attended the New York abortion rights teach-in sponsored by NOW, I wanted to point out that the size figure of 350 reported both by the *Militant* and the *New York Times* was an exaggeration. Actually the meeting, which was very successful and enthusiastic, drew about 150 participants.

Claire Moriarty
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Correction

The January 27 *Militant* incorrectly reported that Lucia Robledo is chairperson of the MEChA at City College in San Diego. Actually Robledo is a former chairperson of that organization.

The same article also incorrectly reported that Helen Kuester of Louisville, Kentucky, joined the Young Socialist Alliance after meeting YSA members active in the Paddlewheel Alliance. In fact, at the time Kuester joined the socialist movement there were no YSA members in Paddlewheel. Kuester met members of the Socialist Workers Party and YSA at a demonstration organized by Paddlewheel.

Workers parties & capitalist gov'ts

After reading the article "Italian Stalinists offer help to ruling class" in the February 3 'Militant,' J.N. of Chicago wrote and wanted to know, "Why are you against the Communist Party joining the Italian government? Wouldn't this be a step forward in the struggle for socialism?"

The international working-class movement has had extensive experience with the type of governments that are formed when Stalinist or social-democratic parties join with one or more capitalist parties. Far from aiding the workers, such governments have always stood in the way of victories in the class struggle.

Nor should this come as any surprise. After all, while history is full of examples of reformist working-class parties coming to power and administering the capitalist system, it has yet to report of a bourgeois party agreeing to help with the elimination of capitalism.

If we approach the question from a theoretical point of view, the Marxist theory of the state gives decisive arguments against participation in capitalist governments.

Lenin restated the views of Marx and Engels in his famous book *The State and Revolution*. The state is a class institution, not a neutral organ that mediates between conflicting class interests. Since the capitalist state was built from the beginning in order to defend the interests of the capitalist class, the workers must organize independently, against the capitalist state and the bourgeois parties that administer it. Eventually, if the struggle for socialism is to triumph, the working class must smash the capitalist state apparatus and substitute its own workers state for it.

But decades of capitalist stability and expansion leading up to World War I undermined the revolutionary wing of the workers movement in Europe. Advocates of class collaboration—who were in favor of *limiting* the goal of the socialist movement to gradual reforms—began to win increasing influence.

Those who defended this reformist perspective naturally extended their conclusions to the parliamentary arena. As Leon Trotsky explained in a 1935 article: "The leaders of the Second International considered that the democratic state is an autonomous institution, suspended above classes, and consequently capable of serving different, even opposite,

historical goals. The problem consisted for them in gradually, step by step, filling 'pure' democracy with a new economic content. . . . The idealization of democracy inevitably led to the idealization of the democratic parties of the bourgeoisie. Cooperation with them was presented as a necessary condition for systematic 'progress.'" (*Writings of Leon Trotsky [1935-36]*, Pathfinder Press, page 85.)

Progress, however, is something that can be assured for humanity only by the triumph of the socialist revolution. Those so-called socialists who saw the reform of capitalism as the road to progress ended up supporting their governments in the bloodbath of World War I.

Survivors of World War I witnessed the Stalinists pushing the same disastrous line of coalition with the capitalists during the 1930s, this time under the name of the popular front. Perhaps the most complete exposition of the revolutionary view on this question is in Trotsky's writings on the Spanish revolution, which are available in a book of that title from Pathfinder Press.

"In reality," Trotsky says, "the Popular Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism. For it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the Popular Front is the February 1917 revolution. From February to October, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, who represent a very good parallel to the 'Communists' and the Social Democrats, were in the closest alliance and in a permanent coalition with the bourgeois party of the Cadets, together with whom they formed a series of coalition governments." (*The Spanish Revolution*, page 220.)

The Bolshevik demands of, "Down with the capitalist ministers," and, "All power to the soviets," were aimed at breaking the masses from this popular-front government and offering the alternative of a workers and farmers government without any capitalist representatives. A similar function is played in Italy today by the demand of revolutionary socialists for a government of the working-class parties.

—David Frankel

For further reading: *United Front vs. People's Front*, 31 pages, 50¢. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York 10014.

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Upsurge in Nicaragua shakes Somoza regime

By Eduardo Medrano

A massive boycott of nationwide municipal elections February 5 dramatized the deepening political isolation of the regime of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The Conservative Party, the only legal opposition, told the Associated Press that 52 of its 132 candidates had withdrawn voluntarily in protest of the Somoza regime. A government spokesperson said early returns show that only 143,000 of the 700,000 eligible Nicaraguans voted.

The elections took place on the fourteenth day of a general strike that has posed the most powerful challenge to the Nicaraguan government since the beginning of Somoza family rule in 1933.

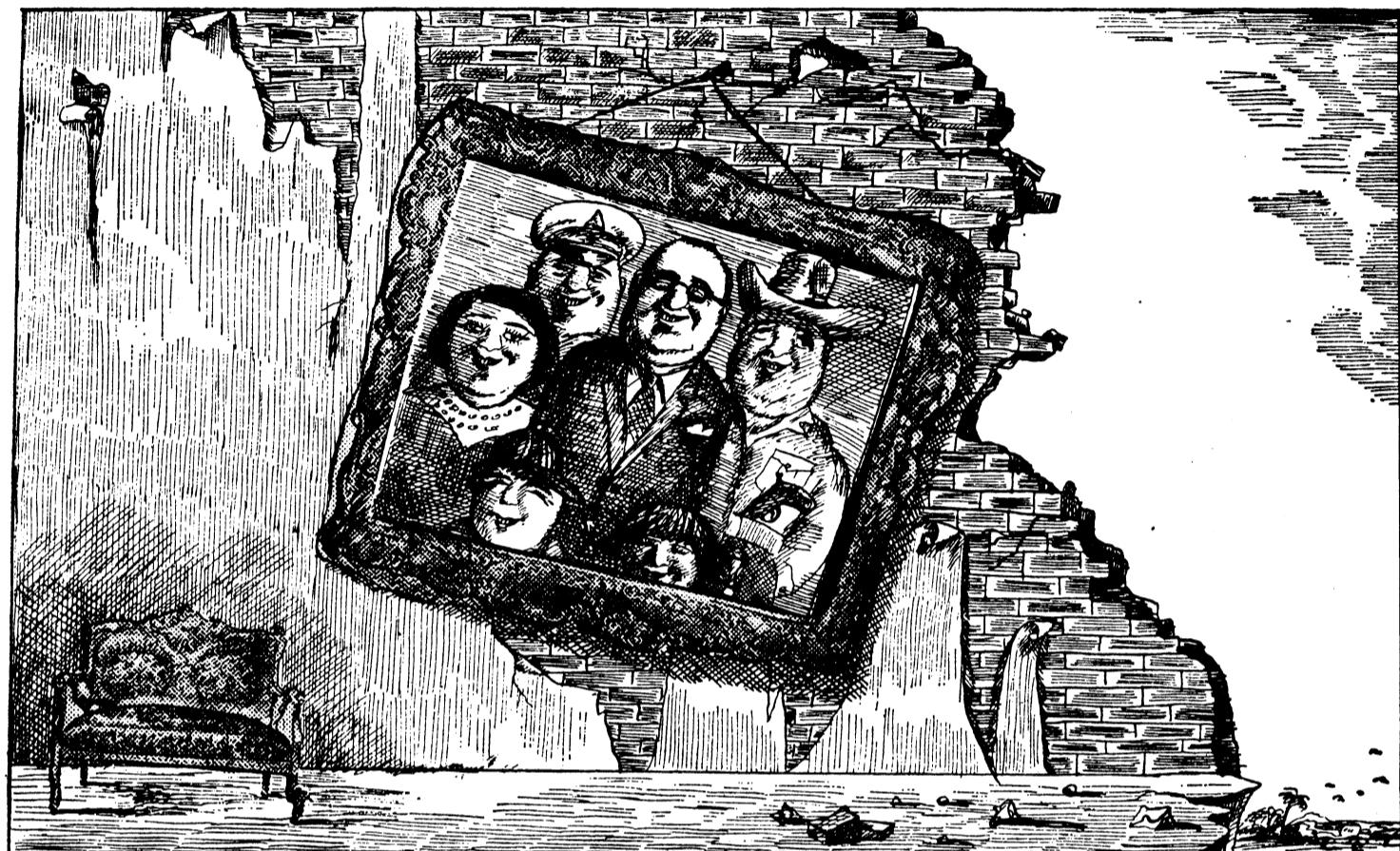
The upsurge began January 11, when more than 30,000 people gathered in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua to attend the funeral of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, who was murdered the previous day. Chamorro was the editor and publisher of *La Prensa*, the most prestigious capitalist daily in the country.

From this position, as well as his central role in the Unión Democrática de Liberación (UDEL—Democratic Liberation Union), Chamorro was widely viewed as the main political enemy of the Somoza regime, aside from the Nicaraguan guerrilla organization, the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN—Sandinista National Liberation Front).

Chamorro's assassination was widely considered the work of the regime, anxious to slap down a potential challenger in the 1981 presidential elections and a popular critic of governmental corruption and tyranny.

Chamorro's funeral was followed by forty-eight hours of demonstrations, burning of automobiles, and sacking of various Somoza clan businesses.

By January 23, the protests had



New York Times/Eugene Mihaesco

Protests in Nicaragua pose major challenge to forty-year rule of U.S.-installed Somoza family dictatorship

grown to a general strike supported by unions and businesses. The strike has paralyzed 90 percent of Nicaragua's commerce and industry. Hospitals and clinics have been closed as doctors, nurses, and health workers have joined the strike.

Drivers of fuel and gasoline trucks have stopped work. Out of forty-seven filling stations in Managua, thirty-seven have been shut down.

Bank workers and government employees numbering 2,400 have also joined in.

On January 30, the National Guard surrounded the campus of the National University in Managua and fired tear-gas grenades at student demonstrators.

Thousands joined in protests in the cities of León and Masaya on February 1. *La Prensa* reported that the next day the National Guard attacked demonstrators in Matagalpa, killing six people.

Somoza has boasted that the upsurge shaking Nicaragua poses no real threat to his dictatorship. His oppo-

nents "are up in a coconut tree," he claimed, "and don't know how to come down."

Nonetheless, he had declared a state of siege and reimposed censorship on radio and television (although not on the press).

The situation is not encouraging for Somoza. On January 16, the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* reported statements by one of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro's sons that business groups in Nicaragua are intensively promoting the dictator's replacement by a civilian-military junta. Alejandro Cole Chamorro indicated that a potential successor had even been selected—"the civilian-military junta could be headed by General Guillermo Noguera, the present defense minister."

One businessman, pleased with the prospect that Somoza's capitalist adversaries would be the main beneficiaries of the present events, told *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding January 31:

"Even if it ends soon, it will have been a great success. We've tried to overthrow the Somozas through violent means dozens of times and have always failed. This is the first time we've tried to do so peacefully, and look how well we've done. Never before have workers, businessmen, and politicians been so united against the regime."

Such hopes that the present upsurge can be neatly contained within the limits desired by Somoza's capitalist opponents are premature. They may find it no easier to bring the present struggles by Nicaraguan workers and peasants under control than the bloody dictator they seek to replace.

Carter funds Somoza's 'personal army'

By Peter Seidman

Washington claims it is neutral towards the Somoza dictatorship. But the truth is that the Carter White House has helped shore up Somoza's regime with the same big stick that has been used by every U.S. president since Teddy Roosevelt.

The Somoza family dictatorship was set up during the twenty-one-year-long occupation of Nicaragua by U.S. marines that began in 1912.

As *Washington Post* correspondent Karen DeYoung wrote from Managua on October 16, 1977:

"By the time the Marines left, they had insured a form of stability that has lasted until the present. With U.S. money and arms, they created and trained perhaps the most powerful military force in Central America—the Nicaraguan National Guard.

"Installed as its commander was Anastasio Somoza, the father of the current president. Since then, virtually every officer in the 7,500-man force that serves as both army and police here has been trained by the U.S. military—either at the Southern Command headquarters in Panama or in the United States. . . .

"The national guard, which is still equipped almost entirely with U.S. weapons at a cost of \$32 million in credits loans and grants over the past six years," DeYoung went on, "is considered here to be Somoza's personal army. . . ."

Carter continued this open-handed policy toward "Somoza's personal army" last October when his administration signed a \$2.5 million military assistance agreement with Nicaragua.

This military agreement was auth-

orized even though the State Department deferred a \$12 million economic aid package—aimed at financing two projects in education and nutrition—because of human rights violations by the Somoza regime.

In post-Vietnam America, it isn't so simple to just send in the marines anymore. Public opposition makes such moves politically explosive. Carter also wants to avoid marring his carefully cultivated image as a champion of human rights by identifying too openly with Somoza.

But one thing is for sure. Washington won't be "neutral" if the current protests grow to the point where they threaten to rip Nicaragua out of the sphere of U.S. economic domination—rather than simply to replace one set of capitalist rulers with another.